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ABSTRACT

This series of 12 essays examine the role of the social studies, its past and predictions for the future. Following the introduction, the essays are: (1) "The Problem of the Social Studies" (James A. Michener); (2) "Social Studies Is the Heritage of a Nation" (James L. Barth); (3) "Past as Prologue: A Defense of Traditional Patterns of Social Studies Instruction" (James S. Leming); (4) "The Future of Critical Thinking in the Social Studies" (James A. Whitson and William B. Stanley); (5) "The Future of Equity in Social Studies" (Susan Adler); (6) "A Bold Vision for the Future of Social Studies" (Ronald W. Evans); (7) "The Future of Political Participation in Civic Education" (Patricia G. Avery); (8) "Teaching Toward a Global Future and the Future of Global Teaching" (Angene H. Wilson); (9) "A Social Studies Curriculum for the Future 'with Malice Toward None'...?" (Murry R. Nelson); (10) "The Future of Social Studies Certification" (Paul Robinson); (11) "The Future of Research on Social Studies" (James P. Shaver); and (12) "Speculating about the Future of Change in Social Studies: Seeking Answers to Some Basic Questions" (Gerald Marker). (EH)

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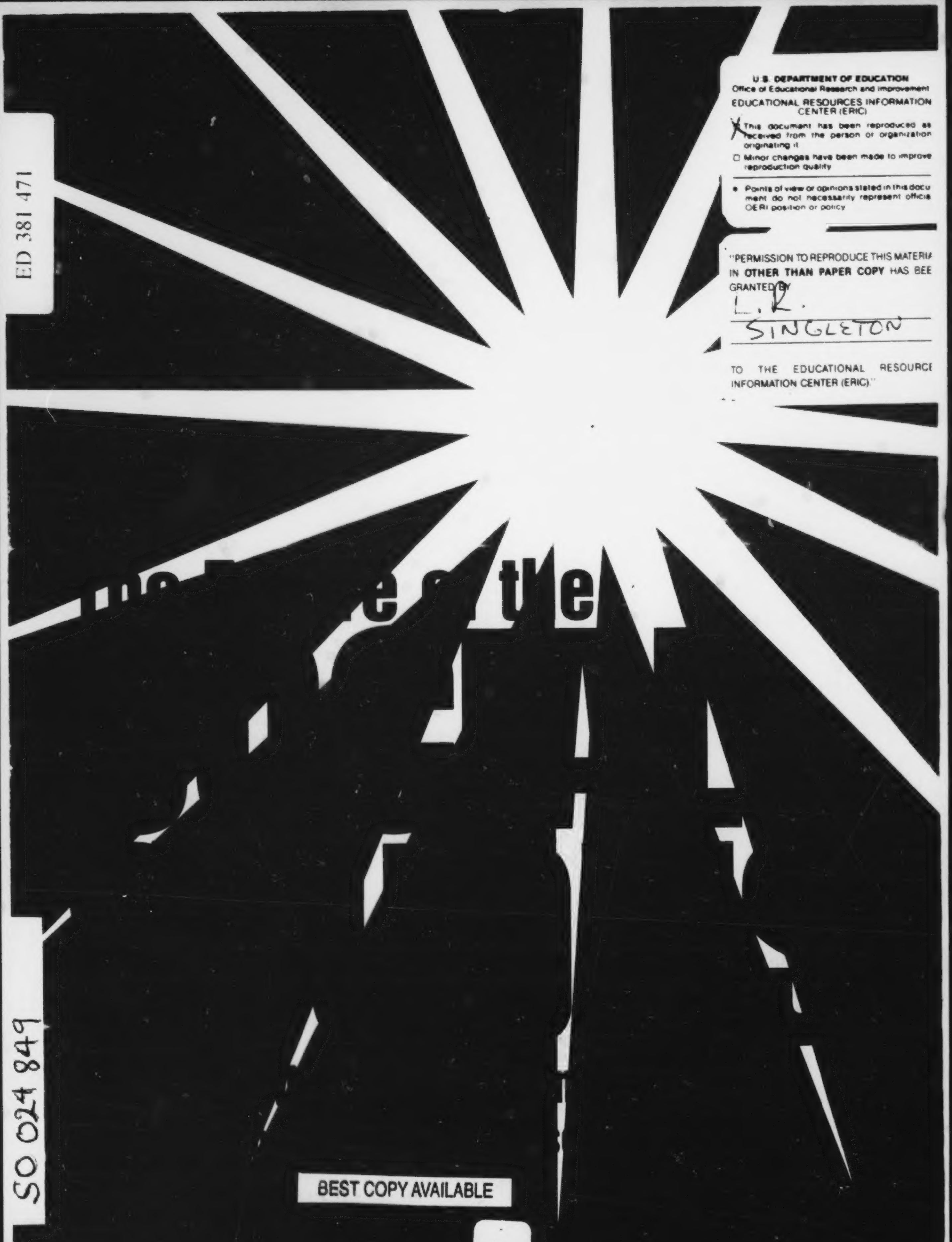

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Edited by

Murry R. Nelson

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Murry R. Nelson

Introduction

This volume takes its inspiration from the 1939 National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) bulletin *The Future of the Social Studies*, edited by James A. Michener, then a young professor at Harvard's Graduate School of Education. At that time, social studies had a short past, one filled with turbulence as social scientists and historians sought to quash the notion of social studies altogether.

The interweaving of the social sciences and humanities into the social studies had been broached as early as 1892 in the National Education Association (NEA) Committee of Ten's Conference on History, Political Economy, and Civics. Subsequent national committees also wrestled with definitions and directions, culminating in the "widely emulated" NEA Committee on the Social Studies of 1916. This emulation was ironic, however. Indeed, the committee's structural suggestions were widely adopted as course subjects. These suggestions were, however, the weakest part of the report and the part that the Committee saw as subject to great diversity and variation. What was emulated, then, was structure without substantive beliefs or understanding of what that structure contained or implied.

The 1939 NCSS bulletin presented 15 educators' visions of how social studies could be structured. These writers gave little attention to either the philosophical tenets upon which their views were based or to the sociopolitical influences inherent in such choices.

Of course, in 1939 there was much less political concern with education than exists today. Education was viewed as a rather "pure" endeavor, and there was little of the political posturing that characterizes the field today. That is not to say that education was not seen as important; many articles in prominent magazines recognized the importance of education in ending the Depression in the United States. During this period, the Progressive Education Association reached its zenith, and schools were seen as a key to solving the nation's problems, both economic and social.

Ominously lurking behind discussion of education was the seemingly inextricable spiraling toward war in Europe, a war that threatened to demand American involvement. The schools were viewed as having a role here, a role that varied depending on one's view of impending American involvement with the war.

Today, the parallels to 1939 are easy to draw, but there are also significant differences. The most obvious parallel is the renewed battle over the very existence of social studies. Recent assaults have come from academic areas that have interests in the schools; from the news media, both print and television, where school "bashing" has a certain cachet; and from politicians who have made education and social studies political issues.

The increasing politicization of education has been a decidedly post-World War II phenomenon, one which did not initially engender much political interest. Under President Eisenhower, funding for education increased dramatically and continued to do so under each subsequent administration. In his campaign for the presidency in 1976, Jimmy Carter vowed to create a Cabinet-level Department of Education if elected, thereby assuring himself support of the NEA and the American Federation of Teachers (AFT).

By the 1980s, education had become big business, and businesses wanted more involvement with it. Presidents Reagan and Bush welcomed "free enterprise" into education. Both hoped for restructured schools, and both leaned toward a so-called basic approach to learning. Social studies again was targeted as an obstacle to improved education.

The renewed discussion on national standards and a national curriculum has been fueled by the "failure" of American students on national and international tests. More pressing, however, is the deeper question of who can, and does, control education. Many Washington insiders, including former President Bush, claim to see themselves as outside the educational decision-making process. The culprits are identified as the "educational establishment." Whereas in 1939 that establishment was seen as altruistic and concerned with the nation's welfare, today it is vilified as protectionist and resistant to change.

Thus, despite the fact that many educational concerns remain the same, the political climate for education has become increasingly sophisticated in 50 years and is now characterized more by political infighting than by discussions of substantive educational issues. While this change was occurring, what were social studies educators predicting for changes in their field?

Concern for the future of the field was the topic of a Cubberly Conference at Stanford University in 1959. Published as a five-chapter volume edited by Paul R. Hanna in 1960, *The Future of the Social Studies* was scarcely noticed and vanished with hardly a review and little impact on social studies education.

In 1980, Irving Morrissett of the Social Science Education Consortium directed Project SPAN, a major study of the status of social studies education; in analyzing its work, Morrissett noted an "optimistic view of the future," though the view was more of schools and education than social studies. The project staff and consultants held out hope that the "New Social Studies" work of the 1960s and 1970s would provide "building blocks" for further efforts at improvement in social studies (Superka, Hawke, and Morrissett 1980).

In 1984, Morrissett offered four views of the future of social studies, views that he had originally presented to the Social Science Education Consortium annual meeting in 1982: (1) The inertia of the past would prevail; (2) education (especially social studies) would move, slowly but surely, and *maybe* not so slowly, toward agreed-upon ideal states; (3) the New Social Studies would prove to be not dead, but only sleeping; (4) computers would serve as the strong cataloyst required for revolution in the field. More than ten years after Morrisett speculated, agreed-upon ideal states have clearly *not* been reached and the past remains the strongest factor in the future, though the computer *is* making significant inroads and there still are isolated acknowledgments of the New Social Studies.

In 1986 Fred Newmann offered an agenda for the future of social studies. He identified the key issues as diversity in teachers' priorities, student disengagement, and mediocre teaching, then offered approaches to dealing with these issues. In that context he proposed strategies for future successes—"placing depth above coverage, changing school culture to enhance student engagement, and promoting staff collegiality." Newmann concluded that "unless we attack these problems directly, the work we advance on the more familiar topics will at best bring only a slight marginal improvement in the teaching of social studies" (Newmann 1986, p. 249).

Where, then, does that leave the future of social studies as we approach the millennium? The writers of the chapters in this volume wrestle with that question and are forced to go beyond the course outlines that characterized the 1939 volume.

As in that volume, the writers are all in higher education and have been teachers of social studies at the lower school levels. They represent a variety of geographical and generational views. All have been extremely active in the field of social studies, which may seem to make for a skewed presentation. No "outsiders" critical of social studies are represented for two major reasons. Most of the outside critics of social studies are not really sufficiently of the field to view it from any perspective other than an adversarial one. This is not meant to sound snobbish, only realistic. Experts in a field know it better than dilettantes.

A second reason is that these writers are critical of their own field. They are cognizant of the skepticism with which some people view social studies. Indeed, many of these writers share that skepticism. Thus, this volume is not meant to be, nor did it become, a paean to social studies. Instead, it is a critical assessment of what the future might hold for this field. Each of the authors has worked from that idea.

First, Michener's brief, inspirational chapter is reprinted to present anew his charge of 1939 and to reapply it to social studies today. The following chapters have been grouped *post facto* according to how they seem to ally themselves.

The next three chapters examine ways to think of social studies. James Barth presents social studies as the heritage of a nation, first the United States and now the natural extension to newer nations, particularly those that are former colonies of imperial democracies. James Leming then looks at a more traditional view of social studies through the actions of teachers, both in and out of school. He questions whether "traditional" teaching should be altered. Leming brings more skepticism than hope to this effort. William Stanley and Tony Whitson examine critical thought in the future of social studies.

The next five chapters examine more active parts of the field—political participation, global teaching, and other curricular-based issues. Susan Adler addresses the issue of equity and access for all students. Adler is skeptical but hopeful of change, and her view of equity is consonant, but less polemic, than that of Ronald Evans. Evans sees equity and other issues being achieved most effectively through an issues-oriented curriculum.

Patricia Avery and Angene Wilson draw on work that they and others are doing to enhance political involvement or global awareness and contacts of students. Project Public Achievement, an ongoing project with which Avery has been involved, and the International Student Speaker Programs, with which Wilson has worked, are two illustrations of possible futures for social studies. From these, Avery and Wilson see brighter potential for global and civic understanding among citizens.

I then look toward the need to revise the curriculum. Like Evans, I see issues as more vital than the traditional curriculum. I attempt to focus on areas where the curriculum may be more effectively built, incorporating the changes in American demographics.

In the next two chapters, Paul Robinson and James Shaver look at teachers and their training and where research may take us. Robinson looks at certification and the parties most concerned with certifying teachers—the National Board of Professional Teaching Standards and the National Council for the Social Studies. Shaver, the editor of the imposing *Handbook of Research in Social Studies Teaching and Learning*, assesses the thinking about research in the field, using his long contributions in social studies as well as his recent editorship as foundations.

Finally, Gerald Marker takes a sobering view of change and innovation in social studies and the prospect for such occurring. Marker has worked most recently on the development of social studies standards, but he offers a skeptical view of this and other "quick fix" solutions. Indeed, that might be the pertinent descriptor for this volume and its authors. Though highly skeptical of meaningful change in social studies, we remain hopeful.

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Chapter 1

THE PROBLEM OF THE SOCIAL STUDIES

by
*James A. Michener**

The purpose of this book would be misunderstood if its provisional nature were not kept constantly in mind. The National Council for the Social Studies would regret having this publication interpreted as a formal statement of what the social-studies curriculum should be. Instead, this is a collection of carefully prepared individual proposals concerning the curriculum. Each author has been invited to state briefly his conception of what the social-studies course of study should be in the immediate future.

These proposals, therefore, represent the reasoned judgment of men and women whose professional life has for the most part been spent in considering the problems of the social studies. As individual articles, each merits the closest study, for each has behind it a fortifying wealth of scholarship, experience, and conviction; but the total volume remains merely an attempt to assemble in one place samples of the best modern thinking on the social-studies curriculum.

The ideal course of study cannot be determined by taking each of these fifteen proposals, finding out what each writer says should be taught in Grade III, determining the proposal which was made most often, and announcing that here is the answer for Grade III. Each of these curricula is an organic whole and has been planned to be administered as such. Several of the curricula are already in use substantially as here outlined; others represent composite practice, but each is essentially a workable plan of procedure.

Why This Book Was Written

The principal problems connected with the social studies have frequently been divided into six general areas. (1) Decide upon the objectives for which the social studies will be taught. (2) Construct courses which will attain these objectives. (3) Select and arrange the necessary materials for use in these courses. (4) Determine what methods shall be used. (5) Prepare teachers to administer the courses thus established. (6) Evaluate the entire procedure.

Each of these six important fields is being studied carefully today, but certain areas have progressed much further toward a satisfactory solution than have others. For example, objectives have been the subject of much study. At present it seems likely that the major objectives stated in *Purposes of Education in American Democracy* will be accepted by most curriculum-makers.[1] These objectives are not significantly different from those inferred in the *Conclusions and Recommendations* of the last national committee which considered the social studies.[2] Wirth has gathered together much of the available research on social-studies objectives and has tabulated his findings in usable form.[3] It is probably correct to say that there is ample guidance for anyone wishing to reconsider or restudy the problem of objectives for the social studies.

Materials for teaching are also being improved constantly. Individual textbooks are reaching an unusually high standard of utility. Series of texts representing integrated or correlated materials for several consecutive years are also available. Several publishers are experimenting with pamphlets containing individual units, so that the teacher may soon be able to select from a wide variety the particular sequence of units he wishes to teach in any one year. Particularly noteworthy are the new source books that are appearing. Some are centered around special fields of interest, such as the westward movement or the documents of history, whereas others endeavor to provide the teacher with maximum illustrative social material for an entire year's work. Visual and auditory aids such as maps, moving pictures, and radio programs are also being constantly improved.

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*From *The Future of the Social Studies*, Curriculum Series: Number One, James A. Michener, Editor. (Washington, DC: National Council for the Social Studies), pp. 1-5. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

The field of methods for the social studies has become fairly well organized. Most schools of education are advocating that teachers break their work down into manageable segments and that they teach these segments according to well defined procedures. Activity is assuming its proper place in method, and the principles of democratic classroom practice have been fairly well agreed upon, even though actual performance still lags behind our knowledge of what to do.

The preparation of competent teachers is being studied widely, and those practices which promise to produce better teachers are rapidly spreading. The American Council on Education's Commission on Teacher Education is at present concerned with this problem, and in the field of the social studies the most recent yearbook of the National Council deals directly with teacher education.[4] Likewise in evaluation there is a fairly clear understanding of desirable procedures. Anderson, Lindquist, Wrightstone, and Tyler have done much to provide teachers with clearly stated principles governing evaluation. These men and others have also prepared evaluation instruments that can be used in most social-studies classrooms.

In fact, there is agreement as to what the social studies should accomplish. Usable materials are at hand; methods are being improved; teachers are being prepared to use the newer methods; and evaluation instruments have been perfected to test whether or not the whole process is efficient. If practice in these fields lags behind accepted theory, it is not because acceptable theory is not available; but for the questions of *what to teach* and *when to teach it* there are no clear answers.

The Social-Studies Curriculum Today

No longer can a "Committee of Seven" promulgate a history curriculum which the majority of schools will accept.[5] Realizing this, the most recent national committee, the Commission on the Social Studies of the American Historical Association, refrained from suggesting a detailed curriculum. Their hesitancy was properly interpreted by the schools to mean that a period of wide experimentation was about to ensue. True, experimentation had already started in many schools, but the ubiquitous "Social-Studies Curriculum Committee" of recent years largely grew out of the Commission's Conclusions and Recommendations. Krey's short volume, *A Regional Program for the Social Studies*,[6] to some extent gave impetus to local curriculum groups, for in his essay Krey made a point which will probably gain continued prominence in the social studies, namely: American society tends to be understood best when broken down into the regional areas that comprise it. A logical development of such a thesis is that each region should construct its own curriculum.

The College Entrance Examination Board published its report on examinations in such a way as to imply a social-studies curriculum that could be largely satisfactory if administered by very well prepared teachers,[7] and the forthcoming social-studies publications of the Progressive Education Association[8] will also imply a curriculum without presenting one. The state-wide curriculum initiated in Virginia has encouraged radical revision of social-studies curricula elsewhere, for the Virginia curriculum centers upon a fascinating central core of social-studies material.[9] Publication of vigorously revised social-studies courses of study by departments of education in Texas, Michigan, and elsewhere will add further impetus to widespread revision.

What will the conclusion of this experimentation be? According to the latest figures, Teachers College, Columbia University, has on file more than 50,000 separate courses of study. Some alarm has been felt because one western state reported thirty-seven different social-studies courses being taught in the last three years of high school. Most educators would prefer thirty-seven different courses to one rigid sequence from which there was no deviation; but the continued multiplicity of social-studies courses of study raises several questions. One must admit there is needless duplication. Are there other questionable factors?

The Validity of the Curriculum

There is nothing inherently faulty in varied courses of study; on the contrary, variety is to be desired in democratic education. The Commission on the Social Studies, in refusing to deliver a ready-made curriculum became an agent in the revitalization of the social studies. One has only to read Harper's dismal report of what has been happening to history to appreciate the fact that almost any infusion of red corpuscles into the curriculum was desirable.[10] There is ample evidence of the benefits that accrue to teachers who have the good fortune to work on curriculum committees and who are forced to reconsider the principles upon which they have been teaching. Fortunately, one does not have to pass a value judgment on the curriculum movement in recent years, but on the whole it has probably done considerably more good than harm. One nevertheless should question certain aspects of the result.

Is it efficient to have each social-studies division construct its own curriculum? There is a temptation to say "no," but anyone who has watched a school spring to life under the impetus of curriculum revision must honestly say that even were a curriculum all printed and ready to be implemented it would be preferable for the teachers themselves to experience the pleasure and the

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responsibility of building their own. This is merely another example of the fact that democratic procedures are not always the most efficient, in so far as external measures are concerned.

Does individual curriculum construction produce satisfactory courses of study? Unfortunately, when the thrill of constructing a curriculum has worn off, schools often find themselves saddled with monstrosities. Several recent courses of study produced by isolated schools have represented nothing but surrender once more to what Dodd calls "history's imperialistic claim." It seemed evident that the social-studies teachers who constructed those courses of study had either never heard of the *Conclusions and Recommendations*, or having heard of them, had relegated them to oblivion. On the other hand, three recent courses of study for secondary schools contained no history whatever, the social studies being represented by a mass of poorly organized and largely unteachable conglomerates. Haphazard courses of studies for the social studies are usually repetitious, frequently lacking in integration, and oftentimes purely capricious in choice of subject matter. Such courses constantly ignore the newer materials on childhood growth and development, and in the latter years particularly fail to take into consideration the valuable material that is being collected on student needs and interests.

How can local curriculum committees avoid the more serious mistakes inherent in individual curriculum construction? A social-studies course of study should be constructed only after considerable research and only when care is taken that it conforms to reasonable criteria. These criteria are not iron-clad restrictions threatening progress; instead, conformity to them would go far toward insuring liberal courses of study. To ignore them is to run the risk of producing merely one more capricious guess. Wesley has summarized the basic principles governing curriculum construction.[11] A statement of the general principles is contained in the Fourteenth Yearbook of the Department of Superintendence, and is quoted by Anderson elsewhere in this publication.[12] Both the Fourth and Sixth Yearbooks of the National Council for the Social Studies contain rational analyses of the social-studies curriculum.[13] Schutte deals with the problem in a broad philosophical manner,[14] and the Progressive Education Association establishes further standards for curriculum construction.[15] In addition to these works dealing exclusively with the social studies, there are numerous other works of a general nature, a hasty study of which would prevent many of the premature courses of study appearing today.

Does this publication help to clarify the problem? Of itself, it does not, but it was not meant to be an authoritative statement concerning what the social-studies curriculum should be. It is merely the first step in what may become a sustained effort to bring some order into a confused field. Here one has a picture of what several scholars envision the future of the social studies to be. It is hoped that these statements will form the basis of much serious discussion, and that from such discussion plans can be made for a commission which will consider the future of the social studies in the curriculum of American schools.

Some Insistent Problems that Must Be Answered

In constructing a social-studies course of study, or even when considering the question of the social studies abstractly, several annoying problems arise that must be answered before one can honestly proceed to make any decisions. Anyone considering the social studies today must be aware of the following questions for which there are at present no clear-cut answers.

A course or a collection of classes. Up to the present few schools have really had a social-studies course; instead they have had a collection of individual classes which were supposed to integrate roughly on the basis of the report of the Committee of Seven as modified by the Committee on Social Studies of 1916 and the Committee on History and Education for Citizenship. A social-studies course implies a twelve-grade sequence of carefully integrated experiences leading to a clearly understood objective.

A multiple course of study. Social-studies teachers will soon have to make a very difficult decision. In fact, many are already faced with the dilemma of fitting old courses to a new situation. Secondary-school population will soon be radically changed if unemployment and the extension of compulsory school attendance continue. This means that considerable numbers of students for whom history, economics, and sociology as taught at present are unsuitable will demand attention. At the same time there is considerable justified apprehension concerning the fate of the very able student who can profit from advanced courses in the social sciences. It appears to many that such students are being cheated when schools make no provision for the traditional and potentially invigorating courses in history and the other social sciences. It may well be that the social studies will be forced to adopt a dual or even a multiple course of study.

The core curriculum. In many schools the core program is absorbing much of the social studies. This is not necessarily regrettable, but it would be a waste of long accumulated experience if the social studies were not to find a sensible place in this program. It may possibly be that in typical schools of the future there will be no social-studies department, but if such a decision is made, it should be made consciously, and not by default.

Social development. This is a most pressing problem for the social-studies teacher. On the one hand there is the school which delegates to social-studies courses all responsibility for the social development of students; whereas another school restricts its teachers to preparing children for rigorous external examinations on the facts of history, civics, and geography. Similarly, there are social-studies teachers who arrogate to themselves the

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whole job of caring for the social development of their students; whereas others seem offended if they are held in any way responsible for what children do outside the classroom. Quite probably the social studies will suffer if its curriculum or its teachers adopt either of these extreme alternatives, but the middle course through this confusion of responsibility is by no means clearly defined.

Civic education for an age of change. Social-studies curriculum-makers must soon decide just how sincerely they believe that their field can contribute to the education of young men and women who in all probability will face and live through a life of rather continuous change. Specifically, how important is training in democracy? Shall children be taught the necessity for certain economic readjustments? Shall the social studies undertake the difficult task of encouraging students to consider objectively the alternatives to present political patterns? Shall children be taught to adjust to the alternately minor and major sociological disruptions at present under way? Shall the social studies assume direct responsibility for the inculcation of the habits of good citizenship?

Indoctrination. However one answers the preceding questions, the problems of indoctrination, persuasion, and emotionalization are bound to enter into the discussions. Anyone constructing a social-studies curriculum today must consider very carefully the probable future of emotionalized learning.

Some specific questions concerning content. And finally there are many somewhat less inclusive problems concerning whether one will or will not include the study of new problems that seem to relate to the social studies. The following are illustrative: (1) If present tendencies toward centralization of authority and at the same time enhancement of local responsibility continue, the community will play an increasingly important role in national life. Shall community study center in and be planned for by the social studies? (2) Shall the new viewpoints in history, economics, geography, sociology, and the other social sciences be incorporated into the course of study? (3) Shall the co-operative movement be studied? (4) Shall the study of United States foreign policy be extended so as to include ample treatment of South America and Asia? (5) Shall the difficult problems of growth, emotional maturation, group behavior, and marriage find a place in the social studies? (6) Shall the social studies attempt to deal with the most urgent problem facing many young people, the place of youth in American life? (7) Shall the social-studies course of study make specific provision for the teaching of necessary skills?

The problem of the social studies is to find the most satisfactory answers to the questions that have been raised in this introduction. The following pages contain many excellent suggestions, and it is reassuring to note that among these writers there is considerable agreement concerning many phases of the curriculum. The long period of experimentation has produced a basic body of understandings upon which most social-studies people are beginning to agree. The specific implementation of these understandings still varies from writer to writer and from school to school. Few educators would wish to destroy these variants by imposing a rigid national curriculum; but it is also true that we are approaching the time when the social-studies curriculum can profitably incorporate those practices which have been found to be productive.

The next step would properly be a careful scrutiny of the proposals contained in this volume and elsewhere in an effort to determine what procedures hold the greatest promise for social studies in American schools. What is done with the information thus obtained will to a large degree determine the future of the social studies.

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[14] T.H. Schutte, *Teaching the Social Studies on the Secondary School Level*. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1938. pp. 247-317.

[15] *The Social Studies in General Education*, op. cit.

Chapter 2

SOCIAL STUDIES IS THE HERITAGE OF A NATION

by
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The authors of *Defining the Social Studies* were prophetic in 1977 when they wrote, "Out of careful and patient observation of the seemingly incoherent, tangled, and contradictory practices, patterns have begun to appear. We can begin to see similarities and repetition instead of debate, conflict, and disagreement. We can begin to develop a definition of social studies..." (Barr, Barth, and Shermis 1977, p. 57).

Fifteen years later, on November 23, 1992, the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) House of Delegates ratified the following and now official definition:

> Social studies is the integrated study of the social sciences and humanities to promote civic competence....The primary purpose of social studies is to help young people develop the ability to make informed and reasoned decisions for the public good as citizens of a culturally diverse, democratic society in an interdependent world ("Minutes of the 36th Delegate Assembly" 1993, p. 194).

The NCSS definition clearly indicates that the goal of social studies is citizenship education. Given that goal, a following question might be: What should be the focus of education for citizenship in a democracy? Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1978, p. 19) provide the following answer: "The most important component of citizenship is choice: students will need to identify problems and issues and to make decisions about matters of policy and belief." A further question is: What attitudes and behaviors are expected outcomes of a social studies school curriculum? The answer is, young people should be prepared "to be humane, civil, rational, participating citizens in a world that is increasingly interdependent, pluralistic, and changing" (NCSS 1971).

My first thoughts about the future of social studies, probably because of the definition and goal cited above, were narrowed to only American social studies. This is perhaps a natural error, because the field of social studies began in the United States; now, however, it is found as citizenship education around the world. Even if the field were to fail in the United States, be replaced, renamed, or dropped from the school curriculum, social studies would still exist, perhaps even prosper, elsewhere. Why should the field, supported by rather simple foundational ideas, fail to prosper as the educational reform of citizenship education throughout the world? The sentinel foundational idea is Thomas Jefferson's notion of the enlightened citizen.

Social Studies Is a Transnational Movement

It is sometimes convenient to narrow the scope of social studies and not to perceive it as a set of beliefs about how a country, a region, a continent might define itself. To illustrate the point, many of the new nations that were born after World War II found the idea of social studies a viable alternative to their former imposed colonial system of citizenship education. Malawi is one of those countries—about 30 years since independence, situated between other ex-colonies in South Central Africa, with nine million people. Upon independence, this small nation adopted social studies along with 16 other African nations, building upon the promise of democracy, progress, and prosperity.

Malawi's dreams of democracy, progress, and prosperity were soon modified by reality in the form of an elected central government and life president who envisioned a return to the policies of the former colonial masters. Under a dictatorship, social studies was dropped from the curriculum and replaced by an elitist educational system. Now, almost three decades later, social studies has returned to the Malawi school curriculum and so has the hope for democracy with freedom of speech and multi-party politics. Malawi has returned once again to Jefferson's advice: "Neither believe nor reject anything because any other person or descriptions of persons have rejected or believed it. Your own reason is the only oracle given you by heaven" (quoted in Thersand 1966, p. 44); in short, prepare enlightened citizens who are capable of thinking for themselves. Social studies is seen as the program that will prepare citizens for the Malawi vision of democracy.

Botswana, a Southern African country of one million people, two million cows, and the Kalahari Desert, offers a clearer illustration of the growth and development of social studies as a transnational movement. This country's elementary and secondary teachers in training are taught:

> To educate people is to change them and education offers opportunity to exercise control over how change will come about. Social studies is one subject in our Nine-Year Basic Education Programme which strives to help our country achieve its aim. It aims to prepare our students for the practice of citizenship and the building of our nation. Social studies is change, social studies is the power to participate, social studies is the power to change. These statements mean that the nation through a democratic system will meet the challenge of development and rapid change. The field of social studies provides instruction and practice in how to use the power of education and democracy to bring about change that is suitable for Botswana (*Botswana Social Studies Teaching Methods* 1990, p. 1).

What is significant about Malawi's and Botswana's late 20th-century experience with social studies? The NCSS social studies definition and goal, as cited above, have obviously found support in Central and Southern Africa. The social studies movement and its foundational ideas, which now find support worldwide, were initially part of America's push for universal education at the end of the 19th century. Now, social studies has become a transnational citizenship education reform. This educational reform, social studies, is based upon foundational beliefs.

What were the powerful beliefs that generated a foundation upon which the social studies could be built? Who were the ancestors and the founders of that social studies movement? The future of social studies depends upon the quality of those foundational beliefs and how the beliefs have been expressed and operationalized over the past 200 years.

Social Studies Roots Are in Jeffersonian Democracy

The social studies movement might arguably start in America with Thomas Jefferson, who suggested to his fellow citizens that they judge for themselves, act out of conviction, trust the future, and, when in doubt about the truth, go and see. "No society," he said, "can make a perpetual constitution, or even a perpetual law. The earth belongs to the living generation" (quoted in Thersand 1966, p. 45).

Besides Jefferson, who else provides a context for social studies? The beliefs that evolved to become the social studies field came from quite a distinguished ancestry, starting with but not exclusive to, Roger Williams, Daniel Webster, David Thoreau, and Mark Twain. Perhaps Abraham Lincoln in his Gettysburg Address summarizes the American experience and thus offers, in part, the reason why a field such as social studies might have a reason to exist:

> Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal...that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth (quoted in *Matthew Brady's*... 1912, p. 3).

In many respects, Lincoln encapsulates the context in which Jefferson's enlightened citizen would need a social studies based on the foundational beliefs.

Neither Thoreau, Abraham Lincoln, nor any of social studies' other early ancestors or immediate ancestors in the late 19th century would have known of social studies as a formal school subject. Social studies would not appear until almost the second decade of the 20th century. Yet the ancestors laid the intellectual foundations upon which the founders of social studies built a formal citizenship education program. That foundation is sufficiently powerful to reach out a century later and provide the basis for citizenship education, not only in Malawi and Botswana, but in newly created democracies around the world.

Social studies' more immediate ancestors were social critics in the early 20th century, the public orators, the democratic conscience who persistently pushed the American public to consider their responsibilities as citizens. These immediate ancestors of social studies emerged from the Populist and Progressive era: social critics, politicians, social scientists, historians, and educators; examples of these ancestors include Ida Tarbell, Robert La Follette, John Dewey, Jane Addams, W.E.B. Du Bois, Upton Sinclair, Lincoln Steffens, and John

Steinbeck. These social critics owed their right to criticize to a democratic heritage passed on to them by their distinguished ancestors. The actual founders of the field (Thomas Jesse Jones, Arthur W. Dunn, Edmond J. James, Henry Johnson, David Snedden, and James Harvey Robinson among many others) were those who first proposed what was to become the field of social studies as the appropriate school subject to prepare citizens for the 20th century (Saxe 1991).

Those founders were part of the Progressive education movement, which had the goal of broadening school curriculum to include the study of life experiences such as family, community, health, and jobs; the application of learning theory to the classroom; and the differentiation of instruction to meet the different needs of children; this broadening of the curiculum was aimed at improving the quality of life in an interdependent, urban, industrial community. Dewey, an architect of Progressive education, prepared the way for social studies when he wrote:

> The devotion of democracy to education is a familiar fact. That superficial explanation is that a government resting upon popular suffrage cannot be successful unless those who elect and who obey their governors are educated.... But there is a deeper explanation. A democracy is more than a form of government; it is primarily a mode of associated living, or conjoint communicated experience (Dewey 1916, p. 101).

In short, Dewey added an additional dimension to Jefferson's enlightened citizen and Lincoln's "nation conceived in liberty...a new birth of freedom" and government of, by, and for the people, when he suggested that democracy was "a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience," which could require a deliberate citizenship preparation perhaps best presented and practiced in school.

Conventional wisdom would assign the founding of social studies to reform-minded educators; but, as we know, the foundation was set by the social critics and politicians who were influential in pointing to a need for an organized public school effort to educate the American public to the job of enlightened citizen. Many critics believed that the 20th century would be significantly different from the past. Why? Because a rural nation would become urban. An independent citizen would become interdependent. A farmer would become a factory laborer. A single family home would become an apartment. A sense of community would be lost, and a notion of extended family would disappear. In short, the 20th-century reform-minded Progressive educators and other social critics pictured a citizen standing alone, disconnected from community, family, and much of the support that came from ethnic identity and traditional values and beliefs of the 19th century. Thus the question: How might this new emerging 20th-century citizen be educated?

Beyond those who supported the goals of the Progressive movement, we know that a complex number of professional organizations and agencies have pondered the question: What is a proper citizenship education? Such professional organizations and government agencies as the American Historical Association, the National Education Association, the National Council for the Social Studies, the National Science Foundation, the U.S. Department of Education, and most state departments of education have debated this question. The field of social studies emerged as one response.

It should not be hard to understand, then, why many of the new emerging democracies, some of whom are just now in the midst of political and social changes that were first experienced almost a century earlier by the United States, would turn to social studies as an answer to the question: How might this new emerging 20th-century citizen be educated? Social studies citizenship education evolved as an educational reform that proposed to assist 20th-century citizens to heed Jefferson's, Lincoln's, and Dewey's admonition to learn to control their own lives by thinking for themselves. That admonition emerged over a century later in a most unlikely city—Mombasa, Kenya. The Mombasa Report issued by 11 newly formed African countries recommended:

> ...schools must encourage children to think for themselves, to discuss and to form opinion logically, to appreciate one another and to work hard and honestly together...[and in addition develop] a willingness to accept necessary changes within a system of law and order deriving from the will of the people (*Mombasa Report* 1968, p. 6).

The ideas of thinking for oneself and accepting change within a system of laws derived from the will of the people, whether expressed in Mombasa or elsewhere around the world, are hardly new or original. However, what was new and original was that these ideas were to be implemented in the complex, chaotic, and ever-changing 20th century, thus leading to the conclusion that citizens would need formal instruction in and practice of Jefferson's suggestion to learn to control their own lives—in short, to become enlightened citizens through a curriculum of social studies education.

What about the Future of Social Studies?

Any future for social studies in the United States rests squarely with democratic traditions announced by the distinguished early ancestors, the ancestors from the Populist and Progressive Era, and the founders who actually created the field. Social studies is not a casually conceived subject that just happened by accident to have been suggested almost a century ago, but rather is part of an inheritance, a tradition, that requires citizens to function in a democratic society. Other nations, as they commit to similar developing traditions, could well adopt social studies because citizenship education continues to be the way those traditions are expressed.

Why after 80 years of history as a citizenship education reform movement founded on the American notion of democracy is the field still plagued with controversy and uncertainty? The answer to this question is, of course, quite complex and goes to the heart of what one would consider an appropriate citizenship education. Surely 80 years of experience ought to reveal some sentinel beliefs that, if identified, would help to explain how the social studies emerged, changed, and persisted in diverse nations throughout the world, thus giving a context for speculating about the future.

As suggested above, a formal social studies curriculum is founded on Jeffersonian democracy as interpreted by social critics who were to reflect on the rapid and chaotic changes of the 20th century. The impetus for social studies led directly to a few foundational beliefs about how to prepare students for the role of citizen. These foundational beliefs are basically the goals in most social studies programs, whether in Botswana, Japan, or the United States. In short, they are transnational beliefs—beliefs that: (1) social studies is preparation for citizenship, (2) the content to be studied should be concepts and themes that reflect on social/personal issues, (3) content should be interdisciplinary and integrated throughout the social studies curriculum, and (4) practicing the process of decision making is the guide to classroom instruction.

Because these are some of the foundational beliefs upon which a social studies curriculum is based, it does not necessarily follow that all social studies programs actually incorporate all four beliefs. Nations are obviously at different levels of development, and thus social studies that reflects a nation's traditions may vary as a curriculum. Nevertheless, even as the field continues to be redefined, clarified, modified, and adapted to the social forces that called it into creation in each of the countries where this approach to citizenship has been adopted, the foundations remain the primary goal for social studies education.

Social Studies: Heritage of a Nation

The subject of social studies is the citizenship of a nation, a region, and a world, and the future of social studies is tied to the evolving relationship between national, regional, and world citizenship obligations. As countries develop and mature, so do the social studies programs of those nations. Given the Jeffersonian democracy of early social studies ancestors, coupled with the tradition of social criticism, and finally with the sentinel beliefs that are essential foundations for the social studies, there is no longer any question whether social studies in some form will survive. As long as democracy persists as an idea and social criticism continues as a right, social studies will endure.

Given the nature of social studies as heritage of a nation, it is always defined within the context of a nation, a region, and a continent. The goal of social studies has never been just the maintenance of a cultural heritage but has always included the dimension of improving the self and the society. The introduction of social studies as a school subject was part of the conscious effort to provide the means by which Thomas Jefferson's enlightened citizen would become an informed participant in society.

The social studies movement has already reached far beyond its initial beginnings in the early 20th century to become a transnational movement reaching into some of the largest technologically advanced countries as well as the smallest and least developed countries throughout the world. In an attempt to catch the universality of social studies as a field, one country summarized the importance of social studies as: "social studies is change, social studies is the power to participate, social studies is the power to change" (*Botswana Methods* 1990, p. 1).

If it is true that social studies is a nation's heritage, then it may also be true that the future of social studies is inseparable from that heritage which gives meaning to the future of citizenship education. The excitement of seeing social studies emerge in a new nation has the effect of renewing one's faith in the field. The task of founding the field is not over; the task has just begun in many countries and continues to be enriched by each new struggling nation that embraces a concept of democracy and the practice of social studies. Any brief on the future of social studies must rest upon Jefferson's recommendation:

> I know of no safe depository of the ultimate powers of the society but with the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take power from them, but to inform their discretion through instruction (quoted in Hartoonian 1990, p. XIII).

If Jefferson's advice continues to stimulate the action of nations, then there will always be a future for social studies.

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Chapter 3

PAST AS PROLOGUE: A DEFENSE OF TRADITIONAL PATTERNS OF SOCIAL STUDIES INSTRUCTION

by
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> It is at the end of all our exploring that we come to where we started and know it for the first time
>
> —T.S. Eliot

This chapter begins with a mystery, a mystery embedded within the description of a teacher and his approach to the social studies. What is revealed in the description of this work is a common pattern of teacher' behavior that has not heretofore received much attention in the social studies literature. The mystery lies in why teachers demonstrate the common pattern of behavior described below and, a mystery within a mystery, why this pattern has not been recognized and incorporated into our understanding of social studies education.

The nature of the mystery will be illustrated through a description of a high school social studies teacher, although the phenomenon may also be found to a lesser extent at middle and elementary school levels. The teacher I will describe is in reality a composite of four teachers in two rural schools in the Midwest separated by less than ten miles. The composite is based on my personal observations in the two communities and their public schools over the past 17 years. My argument is that in the presentation of this composite I have captured, in a focused manner, a persisting, but neglected phenomenon in social studies education.

A Teacher

Mr. Jones was born and raised in the community where he teaches. He attended the local state university and received his teaching certificate more than 25 years ago. A typical day in U.S. history and government classes is what one would expect to find based on the existing descriptions of social studies classrooms. Lecture is the primary form of instruction; coverage of material in the textbook is the dominant factor in decisions about what to teach and how to teach it. The textbook is the primary source of assignments for the course. Typically, curricular decisions are justified to students of the basis of: "We have to finish chapter 6 this week because we need to get one more chapter in before the end of the semester." Only rarely are controversial issues mentioned in class; when they are, it is usually in the form of a soliloquy by Mr. Jones. Students occasionally disagree with Mr. Jones, and he encourages and attentively listens to their perspectives. He appears reluctant to engage the students in dialogue on such issues and quickly returns to the subject matter at hand.

Depth is clearly sacrificed for breadth in Mr. Jones's classroom; fostering higher order thinking skills is not an important objective in his classroom. This is reflected most obviously in his exams, which are focused entirely on low-level cognitive goals. When questioned about this, Mr. Jones defends his teaching style in terms of developing students' understanding and appreciation of our nation's history, its form of government, and the values upon which our society is based. Mr Jones considers himself a loyal and patriotic American and wants his students to share that orientation.

Students generally like Mr. Jones. They see him as a caring teacher who has a good sense of humor. He believes deeply that his job is to teach content, and he tries to do so in the most interesting manner possible. He is an avid collector of historical memorabilia. The discharge of a flintlock rifle and a display of his extensive collection of Nazi Germany artifacts are highlights of the semester that students always remember.

Extra credit is given if students attend and report on any one of a number of local public governmental meetings. Since Mr. Jones is known as a hard grader, many of his students take advantage of this option. During election campaigns, Mr. Jones organizes a candidates' forum during school hours for the students. Candidates for local, state, and national office regularly attend. This event is widely reported in local media. Even the most apathetic students are excited to be able to talk to candidates for Senate or governor.

When the bell rings ending the last period, Mr. Jones begins the part of his day that gives him the most satisfaction. Mr. Jones sponsors the Youth in Government program that results in students' traveling to Springfield to participate in a mock legislative assembly. He sponsors an environmental club that has more than 60 members; the club members work on a variety of projects to preserve the local environment. He also sponsors a history club whose members conduct their own historical investigations and frequently publish the results in a state historical journal. This club recently finished an inventory and architectural history of the local community. In addition, students have collected and published oral histories around significant events in the community's history.

If this weren't enough, Mr. Jones takes a team to a regional Mock U.N. every year, and his students have participated in the Civics Bee and the Geography Bee competitions. He takes a small group of students to Washington, DC, every June for a two-week government internship. Mr. Jones also sponsors the local Key Club chapter, which involves students in community service. Although not every student participates in one of the extracurricular activities he sponsors, the majority of students do participate at some point in their high school careers. Finally, Mr. Jones is an active and highly visible Democrat in local politics and serves as mayor of the local community.

The Mystery

Is Mr. Jones a good social studies teacher? If we look only at his behavior in the classroom and apply standards that are commonly held within the social studies profession, we would have to give him low marks. However, if we look at the total picture of the experiences he provides for students, a different image emerges. The mystery centers on two questions. First, why has Mr. Jones chosen to bifurcate his approach to social studies education? That is, why he has decided to remove from the classroom those activities designed to foster higher order thinking, social and political attitudes, and active citizenship? The second question is why the scholars who have examined the profession have not recognized this common phenomenon of the bifurcation of civics instruction and incorporated it into their understanding of social studies instruction.

Mr. Jones's practice of social studies instruction is representative of the dominant instructional pattern in classrooms (Applebee, Langer, and Mullis 1987; Stake and Easley 1978). This pattern, hereafter referred to as traditional social studies instruction (TSSI), is characterized by text-oriented, whole group, teacher-centered instruction with an emphasis on memorization of factual information.

TSSI has not been viewed favorably by academics who, in their advice to teachers and policy makers regarding the appropriate goals and methods of social education, have emphasized a very different set of outcomes, including active citizenship, higher order thinking, and the development of "correct" attitudes on such topics as gender equity, multiculturalism, the environment, global interconnectedness, and the like. Academics have struggled to understand why this dominant pattern of social studies instruction has persisted throughout the 20th century in spite of their carefully reasoned and eloquent exhortations to focus instruction on what, from their perspective, are more desirable goals.

The explanations of academics for the persistence of TSSI typically involve a negative view of the practice of traditional social studies instruction. One such view holds that social studies teachers are unwitting pawns, driven by socioeconomic forces, in a game of cultural reproduction of an unjust society (Apple 1982; Giroux 1981). This view, and the view that teacher behavior is driven by the power of traditional forms of practice embedded within the hierarchical social organization of schools, are highly deterministic and assume a form of mindlessness. This failure to examine the impact of content and methods on purposes was forcefully articulated by James Shaver in his presidential address before NCSS in 1976 (Shaver 1977).

An alternative form of the false consciousness argument has been put forth by Newmann in his discussion of the depth versus breadth issue (Newmann 1988). Newmann argues that to attempt to expose students to new knowledge has fostered the "illusion" that it is possible to teach a reasonably comprehensive sample of the worthwhile knowledge currently available. Newmann also refers to this emphasis on coverage as "a disease."

An even more unflattering interpretation of the reasons for the persistence of TSSI is that of McNeil (1988). McNeil argues, based on her field observations, that TSSI is an adaptive mechanism on the part of teachers, intended to control children's behavior in the classroom. From McNeill's perspective, teachers' instructional decisions are based solely on instrumental needs, and not on any higher conception of the subject matter and their moral trust as educators.

A somewhat more sympathetic view of the reasons for the persistence of TSSI is the multidimensional view of Cuban (1991). From Cuban's perspective the "practical pedagogy" that has persisted in social studies classrooms throughout the 20th century is the result of the pressure of the organizational setting and school culture, which require that teachers develop the practices of TSSI in order to survive. Since the setting offers few incentives to transform classrooms into student-centered ones, the teacher-centered classroom has persisted. In order to moderate the deterministic thrust of the above argument and to account for the presence of certain hybrid patterns of instruction—instruction characterized by greater levels of student involvement—Cuban has proposed a quasi-speculative interpretation he refers to as "situationally constrained choice"; that is, a small percentage of social studies teachers, recognizing the value of greater student involvement, attempt to include, to a limited degree, student-centered experiences in their classrooms.

Even though Cuban is the most sympathetic and even-handed of the scholars who have analyzed TSSI, the implication of his argument is that only teachers practicing a hybrid form of social studies instruction have exercised free choice and have not "...closed their doors to pursue prized beliefs and norms that differed from those embedded in the practical pedagogy (p. 207)." It appears to be a fair characterization of his position that the persistence of TSSI is best interpreted from a deterministic perspective whereby TSSI is the only possible response to the overwhelming pressures of the organizational and cultural environment of schools. There can be little surprise that social studies teachers are defensive when it comes to listening to scholars' analyses of the state of their profession.

The position that will be argued in the remainder of this chapter is that TSSI, as practiced by the majority of social studies teachers, is not a consequence of teachers who are mindless pawns or cowardly accommodators to organizational pressure, but instead is the result of social studies teachers who have thought carefully about their approach to social studies instruction. This position is not presented as established empirical fact, but rather as a reasonable alternative to conventional scholarly wisdom in the field.

It will also be argued that the curricular choices made by social studies teachers do not indicate a neglect or disdain for the valued goals of higher order thinking, social attitudes, or active citizenship. If Mr. Jones is typical picture of social studies teachers, then the choice of classroom strategies must be interpreted within a larger context. The question then becomes: Why has Mr. Jones chosen to bifurcate his instructional efforts? Why has he chosen to focus on cognitive goals and the mastery of social science content in the classroom and reserved those activities aimed at developing the attributes of citizenship to outside-of-the-classroom activities? Could this be a rational and defensible decision? I believe that it is and that the pattern represents the best possible approach to achieve the myriad goals for which social studies teachers are responsible.

An Alternative Perspective

One of the keys to understanding Mr. Jones's behavior is related to an understanding of why, in general, social studies teachers have consistently failed to adopt innovative curricula designed to foster goals such as critical thinking, in-depth analysis of public issues, tolerance, social reform, and the like. Why, in spite of the constant drumbeat from academe and the professional organizations, do teachers continue to focus on knowledge as their primary responsibility? The answer is, I believe, related to questions of the system of rewards for the social studies teacher, a realistic appraisal of teacher efficacy, and student and community expectations. The nature of the argument that can be offered to support TSSI can be understood in terms of three sets of responses our imaginary Mr. Jones might give if asked why his practice is not more in line with the goals and methods advocated by many social studies leaders and theorists.

1. Why should I change what I already do well? I already do a good job teaching for knowledge and understanding. My students like me, they find the material interesting, and they generally do well on classroom as well as on standardized tests. What are the cost and benefits associated with including higher order thinking, attitude change, and active citizenship as strands within my classroom teaching? Who benefits and who loses if I change? What are the rewards if I attempt to change what I am doing? Will the community, my students and the administration see me as a more competent teacher? Will I become a "better" teacher?

The reward structure in schools clearly focuses on the conventional pursuit of accepted educational goals by teachers. Controversy can be divisive within class and community. Student performance on standardized tests is currently, and will likely remain, an important factor in the evaluation of teachers, departments, and schools. Will diverting my attention away from teaching knowledge be reflected in improvements in my students' test scores? The only way this can happen is if there is a radical shift in standardized testing. It may happen some day, but right now I have to go with what is there to be fair to my students.

2. Can you show me examples of teachers who have been able to obtain clear and educationally significant gains in higher order thinking, attitude change, and active citizenship skills? I know that I can be successful teaching students history and government. They do learn meaningful and important knowledge in my class. Before I would even consider changing my emphasis in the classroom, I would have to know that I could be successful.

Most teachers already intuitively know what researchers have only lately begun to recognize; namely, these sorts of objectives are difficult, if not impossible to achieve with adolescents. To seriously pursue these goals would be a time-intensive undertaking that may well be beyond my ability to influence in an educationally significant manner.

3. Students expect teachers to know some things, in some sense to be experts in fields of knowledge worth knowing. How can I maintain my credibility with students, other teachers in the school, and parents if I don't focus on the discipline? Everyone—butcher, baker, and candlestick maker—had ideological perspectives about how things ought to be in society, but a teacher's job is to help students master a body of knowledge. If I organize my instruction around topics a particular ideological perspective is currently politically popular (e.g., peace, world hunger, poverty, multiculturalism), haven't I abandoned the basis of my status within an educational setting where the dominant socially accepted purpose is to transmit knowledge? Students respect those teachers who "know their stuff." Don't I incur real risks to my status if I pursue goals not accepted by students?

Many readers of this chapter will undoubtedly find themselves in strong disagreement with the above description and defense of TSSI. They may argue that Mr. Jones is not typical and that, in fact, social studies instruction is in dismal shape. They may also argue that the defense of TSSI by Mr. Jones lacks any normative or moral basis; that is, the defense is wholly instrumental and is not based on any set of values beyond the teacher's self-interested concerns for status, social acceptance, and a sense of efficacy. To adequately warrant any approach to social studies education, one must include ethical premises regarding the interests and well-being of students and society.

From an ethical perspective, our Mr. Jones's defense of TSSI is incomplete and must include broader moral concerns. First, the practice of social studies must achieve its goals and must do so efficiently and well. Students should not leave the schools hating the social studies, as many critics have charged they do. Students should see the value of the social studies. Also, the social studies should be successful in achieving its cognitive educational goals. How have students done in acquiring the knowledge we have attempted to teach?

Second, the knowledge taught should be worthwhile; that is, it should enhance the students' prospects for success in the many roles of adulthood, including the role of citizen. The social studies should make the maximum possible contribution to the development of the qualities of citizenship among students.

In the remainder of this chapter, I wish to argue that there is little cause for alarm when one examines the evidence for student appreciation of the social studies, student achievement in the social studies, and the contribution of TSSI to the capacity for citizenship among social studies students. In making this argument, I will be making the case for the practice of TSSI as morally responsible behavior on the part of teachers; that is, teachers practicing TSSI are, to the maximum extent possible, achieving those educational goals entailed by the social studies.

How Are We Doing?

The question of how the social studies is doing as a curricular area has practical as well as moral significance. It has practical significance in that all curricular areas are accountable for their performance. As suggested above, however, educational goals may be achievable, but not be worthwhile. Thus, there must also be standard of moral accountability. The broad evaluation of practice in social studies education can therefore be viewed from four perspectives.

The first perspective measures classroom practice against some set of standards that have a priori, or deductively, been determined to constitute exemplary practice. This dominant means of evaluating social studies practice in schools has led to the conclusion that the practice of social studies education, in general, is dismal because TSSI does not focus on the teaching of higher order thinking, social and political attitudes, or active citizenship. As I have attempted to show, a view that focuses only on classroom events is a caricature of the practice of social studies education. A fair evaluation of social studies requires a broader perspective.

A second means of evaluating social studies education is to compare the outcomes of social studies education in the United States with the outcomes of other subject matter areas and with those of social studies education in other nations. A comparison of student achievement across all curricular areas in U.S. schools indicates that social studies teachers are doing as well as their colleagues when it comes to the achievement of learning outcomes. In the National Assessments of Educational Progress, national samples of high school students are compared with regard to the levels of proficiency achieved in different subject matter areas. In general, five levels of proficiency have been identified in each discipline; these levels of proficiency roughly correspond to Bloom's taxonomy. Because different tests cannot be presumed to be equally difficult, comparisons between NAEP assessments must be interpreted cautiously. Given this caveat, the percentage of high school seniors achieving the analysis level has recently been reported as 46 percent in U.S. history, 49 percent in civics, 51 percent in math, and 41 percent in science (Applebee, Langer, and Mullis 1989). Additionally, the NAEP data indicates that there are clear gains in student subject matter competence in the social studies between the 4th and 11th grades.

Similarly, among a national sample of 10th-graders, only small differences in achievement have been found on history, math, reading, and science tests (National Center for Education Statistics 1992). Although the evi-

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dence is far from conclusive, there is no reason to conclude that social studies teachers are doing a poorer job than other teachers in achieving content goals.

International comparisons in the curricular fields of science and math have found U. S. students to be less well-educated than many international students and have led researchers and policymakers to conclude that major curricular reform is called for in these areas. Such comparisons in the field of social studies are much more problematic. Torney-Purta's (1991) recent review of the research led her to the conclusion that, "A coordinated research base describing U.S. children and young people as compared to those in other nations in the 1980s is lacking" (p. 600). In addition, the study of history and government varies across nations because of culturally unique content. These content differences make the attempt to develop culture-free standardized tests, and therefore comparisons between nations, difficult.

A third means of evaluating the social studies is to look to the consumers—the students. The conventional wisdom is that students don't like social studies. A standard succession of research studies is cited to support this claim. These studies all utilize students from a single site and involve students currently in social studies classes. Evidence exists, however, that raises questions about the generalizability of these findings. In 1988, in a stratified random sample of 10,611 Americans, the results of a survey commissioned by the National Geographic Society found a quite different picture (Gallup Organization 1988). When respondents were asked to identify their least favorite subject in middle and high school, 4 percent identified social studies and 12 percent identified history; 32 percent identified math and 22 percent identified English. When respondents were asked how interesting the subject was in high school, the following percentages of respondents answered very or somewhat: history (74 percent), geography (71 percent), math (69 percent), science (69 percent), and foreign language (36 percent). Additionally, when a national sample of 8th-graders were asked about their attitudes toward selected classes in the National Education Longitudinal Study, 56.6 percent reported looking forward to math class, 56.9 percent reported looking forward to English class, 58.5 percent reported looking forward to social studies class, and 61.3 percent reported looking forward to science class (National Center for Education Statistics 1992). This data, based on random samples, would suggest that the traditional view that kids don't like social studies should be reconsidered.

A fourth means of evaluating the social studies is in terms of the capacity to exercise effective citizenship among U.S. citizens. Recent reviews of the research base regarding attitudinal and citizenship objectives confirm the lack of evidence with regard to the influence of the social studies curriculum on these two important areas. Walter Parker, in a review of the research on achieving thinking and decision-making objectives in social studies, concludes that "...the wish has remained so fervent, yet so unrealized" (Parker 1991, p. 354). Similarly, Fred Newmann and his associates' investigations into department-wide efforts of social studies classrooms to teach higher order thinking found that locating such classrooms and assessing the impact of such curricula were difficult (Promoting Higher Order Thinking 1991). Newmann (1991) was not able to identify any substantial relationship between the presence of classroom *thoughtfulness* and student performance on a test of reasoning about a constitutional issue. Given the great care that this study utilized to identify thoughtful classrooms, this finding must be accorded great weight. In addition, the only systematic evaluation of the public issues approach also found no discernible impact on students' abilities to construct positions on public policy issues (Oliver and Shaver 1966).

In a recent review of the curricular influence of contemporary issues curricula, Leming (1992) reported that controlled studies in such areas as global education, peace education, and gender and ethnic equity had a statistically significant ($p<.05$) influence on student attitudes in less than 25 percent of the studies. Usually, these gains were so small as to raise serious questions regarding their educational significance.

With regard to the outcome of active citizenship, the most common interpretation of the construct in the educational research has been to study students' social or political participation. Patrick Ferguson's recent review of research in this area has concluded that "There is no evidence to refute... (the) earlier conclusion that the formal curriculum has little impact on students' inclination toward participation" (Ferguson 1991, p. 397).

A key component of all calls for reform of social studies is the status of citizen participation in the nation's civic life. The consensus of all reformers is that citizen distrust of politics and citizen apathy and alienation from politics are indicative of a crisis in citizen education. According to a recent analysis of Americans' approach to politics commissioned by the Kettering Foundation (Harwood 1991), the focus on a broad state of citizen apathy misses the mark. The Kettering Foundation report, *Citizens and Politics*, was based on focus group discussions with citizens held in 12 diverse communities nationwide. The report concludes with the following statement: "Apathy is not rampant among citizens. A sense of civic duty is not dead. Americans are not indifferent to public debate and the challenges our nation faces. Americans simply want to participate in this process we call representative government. They seek the possibility to bring about change" (p. 63).

Among the impressions taken from the focus groups was that people participate in politics, but only in arenas where it is possible to have a say and to bring about and witness change. The report finds that there is, in fact, a sense of impotence and frustration, but that it is not felt across all levels of political life. The report does not indicate that citizens feel, citizenship education is somehow lacking in this country. People want to participate in the solution of public problems. The focus group respondents report that they have the desire and ability to participate effectively, they just want to know that their efforts will make a difference.

The Kettering Foundation portrait of the American citizen does not detect a lack of interest in civic life, nor a lack of interest in participating in civic life. Citizens care about politics; they are interested, but they need help in understanding specific complex public policy issues. When citizens were found to be apathetic, it was a rational apathy; that is, it was a choice based on an assessment of the relative benefits of participation and nonparticipation. The decision whether to participate was based on having confidence in knowing what policies to support and then knowing that one's participation would be meaningful. Given the multitude and complexity of contemporary public policy issues, it is not unreasonable to attend to this domain selectively.

It is ironic that as nations that have never experienced democratic government turn to the United States for expertise in developing education programs for democracy, the social studies profession cries that our own programs of citizenship education are woefully inadequate (Engle and Ochoa 1988). By any criterion, the United States represents one of the most stable and successful examples of democracy in recorded history. For more than 200 years, schools have been teaching democratic values, and our people and their leaders have, upon reaching adulthood, possessed the knowledge, attitudes, and skills necessary to carry out the responsibilities incumbent in those roles. Based on the historical record, it is difficult to argue that if the schools could only produce more political activists and "policy wonks," American democracy would be strengthened.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have attempted to marshall a defense of the traditional pattern of social studies instruction, showing that the usual criticisms of TSSI—students don't like social studies, students don't learn the content, and higher order thinking and citizenship skills are not taught—are overstated and, in some cases, based on unrealistic expectations of teachers. I have cited evidence to support the notion that students generally view the social studies favorably and that students do learn significant amounts of the information presented in class. These last two claims must be viewed against a relative, rather than absolute, standard (that is, in comparison with student learning in other areas). Finally, I have argued that the position that the social studies should encourage higher order thinking and citizenship skills may be an expectation that is unrealistic; we currently lack data that these are achievable goals within the walls of the social studies classroom.

Through a description of a teacher composite, Mr. Jones, I have attempted to show that social studies scholars have taken too narrow a view of the craft of social studies education with their focus only on the classroom. I have attempted to build the case that through Mr. Jones's love of his subject matter, his care and respect for his students, his personal examples, and the out-of-class experiences provided to students, he does encourage civic participation. This brings us back to the second mystery posed at the beginning of the chapter: Why does Mr. Jones bifurcate his approach to social studies education? The answer is, I believe, based on the recognition that the classroom is too constraining an environment for the types of experiences that truly excite and engage students about broader civic life. The classroom is ideally suited for the use to which Mr. Jones puts it: the transmission of knowledge about history and government to large groups of adolescents. From the beginning of recorded history, humankind has assembled groups of youth to instruct them in matters of importance. For well over 2,000 years, wise individuals have assembled young people and, through the telling of tales and the relation of information, passed on essential information about their culture and the wider world. This tradition continues today and will continue far into the future.

Mr. Jones's decision to place much of his civic instruction outside of the classroom is based on an appraisal of the most efficient use of instructional time and the knowledge that this is where students gain the most. As cited above, there is little evidence that either TSSI or innovative social studies practice has a discernible impact on students' civic development. On the other hand, research from the field of political socialization has indicated that student participation in extra-curricular activities is one of the strongest predictors of adult political participation (Beck and Jennings 1982). By focusing on student experiences outside of the classroom, Mr. Jones has therefore selected the most efficient means of achieving an important goal of the social studies.

The original *The Future of the Social Studies*, edited by James Michener (1939), was a document full of optimism and hope. According to Michener:

> There is agreement as to what the social studies should accomplish. Usable materials are at hand; methods are being improved; teachers are being prepared to use the newer methods; and evaluation instruments have been perfected to test whether or not the whole process is efficient. If practice in these fields lag behind accepted theory, it is not because the accepted theory is not available; but for the questions of *what to teach* and *when to teach it* (p. 2).

Attempting to answer those questions, the volume presented multiple viewpoints on recommended scope and sequence for the social studies. It will come as no surprise to the reader of this book that 45 years later the general configuration of social studies education is largely unchanged. While some may lament this apparent lack of change, I have argued that sound reasons exist for the perseverance of TSSI. I do not see in the future any forces that will change the basic educational and social dynamics that make teacher-centered instruction an appropriate choice for teachers of social studies.

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Chapter 4

THE FUTURE OF CRITICAL THINKING IN THE SOCIAL STUDIES

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Finding a social studies educator who does not support critical thinking as a major aim of the social studies is difficult. In a survey reported by Fontana (1980), "critical thinking" was the one goal that elicited almost universal support from social studies teachers. The history of social studies education throughout this century is highlighted by various approaches to critical thinking (Parker 1991). Perhaps no single proponent of critical thinking has had more influence on social studies than John Dewey, but many other social educators, more or less influenced by Dewey, have also argued for critical thinking (Harold Rugg, Charles Beard, Boyd Bode, Alan Griffin, Gordon Hullfish, H. Bruce Raup, Lawrence Metcalf, Donald Oliver, James Shaver, Fred Newmann, Shirley Engle, Jack Nelson, Byron Massialas, Hilda Taba, Jack Fraenkel, Cleo Cherryholmes, and others). The current rate of social change and proliferation of complex social problems have made critical thinking more important than ever. Given these circumstances, one might conclude that the future of critical thinking in the social studies is bright. But there is another side to this story.

When one examines the evidence of critical thinking in social studies classrooms, the results are not encouraging. For more then a century, the prevailing mode of instruction has been the direct transmission of low-level factual knowledge drawn from history and the social sciences. Much of this instruction has involved attempts to indoctrinate students to accept national myths, core values, and an overly positive, albeit inaccurate, view of our national past (Cuban 1984, 1991; Goodlad 1984; Shaver, Davis, and Helburn 1978). Given the apparent widespread support for critical thinking, why is it so little in evidence?

Impediments to Critical Thinking

There has been no systematic and definitive study of the failure to achieve the widespread practice of critical thinking in the social studies, but we can point to a number of interrelated factors that seem to have contributed to this failure. First, we might consider such deep structural and cultural problems as poverty, drug abuse, racism, ethnocentrism, and sexism. Evidence indicates that one's class, race, ethnicity, and gender can have a significant impact on the quality of education received.

A second and related set of factors that likely constrain critical thinking in social studies are found among a wide range of educational practices. Such practices include norm-referenced, standardized testing (national and state); tracking and grouping students; the emphasis on direct, low-level instruction in various educational reform movements (particularly the teacher-effectiveness orientations of the 1970s and 80s); inadequate teacher education programs; poor instructional materials; and a

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tendency to avoid controversial issues. While these practices pervade all areas of the curriculum, they have a particularly pernicious effect on attempts to include critical thinking in social studies.

Third, critical theorists and others raise the concern that our post-industrial society is pervaded by a technocratic form of rationality that tends to reduce all issues (including social) to technical problems. Within this cultural framework, the scope of critical thought is shrunk to the instrumental resolution of problems via the appropriate algorithm. Though this is not a direct instructional problem, the stated purpose of social studies educators as shapers of good citizens makes this an appropriate concern.

The final problem is how to define critical thinking, a problem that involves far more than abstract theoretical debates. Indeed, even if one were to eliminate most of the impediments to critical thought noted above, the way we define critical thinking would still shape the quality of education produced. The concern with how to best implement critical thinking *in social studies* can be traced to the early debates over the nature of social education itself. The importance of these definitional issues is also reflected in the current conflicts over educational reform. Although these debates are quite complex, one can identify at least three important tendencies.

One group views critical thinking as a set of skills that can be taught directly (e.g., Beyer 1985, 1987, 1988; Costa 1985; Ennis 1987; de Bono 1983; Perkins 1985, 1987; Presseisen 1986). These educators see transferable critical thinking skills as essential to our national survival as we approach the 21st century; the skills must be taught directly and not left to chance. According to Barry Beyer (1988), a major reason why we fail to develop critical thinking is because we "put students into situations where they must engage in thinking to whatever degree they can" (pp. 28-29); while such thinking provides better students an opportunity to *apply* their knowledge and skills, it can only frustrate those less able (Brown, Campione, and Day 1981).

Those promoting direct instruction of critical thinking skills have been opposed by two major groups. One group, generally conservative in orientation, contends that the emphasis on teaching skills is, itself, one of the main reasons why students fail to learn social studies in any meaningful way (Cheney 1987; Hirsch 1988; Ravitch 1985; Ravitch and Finn 1987). For these advocates, a detailed knowledge base is essential and must be acquired before one can do much critical thinking. In the words of E.D. Hirsch:

> We should teach more surveys that cover large movements of human thought and experience. Yet even now the goal of teaching shared information is under attack by the latest version of educational formalism, the "critical thinking" movement. This well-meaning educational program aims to take children beyond the minimal basic skills mandated by state guidelines and to encourage the teaching of "higher order" skills....
>
> However noble its aims, any movement that deprecates facts as antiquated or irrelevant injures the cause of higher national literacy (Hirsch 1988, pp. 132-133).

Strangely, in attacking those who advocate direct instruction in content-neutral "thinking skills," Hirsch identifies *them* as intellectual and pedagogical followers of Dewey. In fact, there is a third tradition, sometimes referred to as the "reflective inquiry" tradition in the social studies, whose orientation is more authentically connected to the earlier work of Dewey. This tradition would agree with Hirsch's estimation of content-neutral "thinking skills" instruction as a kind of sterile formalism—while being no less critical of Hirsch's call for thoughtless "piling up of information" (Hirsch 1988, p. xv).

Members of this group (in which we would include Harold Rugg, Alan Griffin, Lawrence Metcalf, Donald Oliver, James Shaver, Fred Newmann, Jack Nelson, Jack Fraenkel, Catherine Cornbleth, and others) see critical thinking as the central concern for social studies education. Critical thinking is not merely a set of skills that can be taught via direct instruction. Rather, the competence for critical thinking is acquired as students are asked to analyze social issues and make decisions (e.g., draw conclusions regarding the cause(s) of an event, make a policy recommendation). Learning content is very important but not for its own sake. The in-depth study of content is an essential part of the analysis of social issues. This approach to social studies is comparable to the reflective inquiry tradition as described by Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1977).

Unlike the "thinking skills" approach, the reflective inquiry tradition has the capacity to deal with critical thinking as a *practical* activity that requires competence beyond any kind of *technical* thinking "skills" (or *techniques*). To clarify this difference, rationales for "reflective inquiry" may need to be revised more explicitly in terms of the long tradition of understanding real practical activity as requiring what the Greeks called *phronesis*, or the competence for practical thinking.

At the same time, from the vantage point of reflective inquiry, those who are calling for the "piling up" of "specific, communally shared information" (Hirsch 1988, p. xv) are advocating what might be described as "contents" without substance. As Dewey understood, the elements of our cultural heritage must be encountered within a critical engagement with the practical problematics that make them meaningful; otherwise, the verbal tokens of that heritage will be retained, at best, as data without meaning (cf. Hirsch 1988, p. xvii).

We shall return later to the task of reclaiming the practical tradition and to the implications of post-structuralist insights for critical thinking. First, however, having reviewed approaches to critical thinking that have emerged historically within the social studies, we now

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turn to more recent developments that have called renewed attention to factors that might impose external constraints on the goals and efforts of social studies educators.

Henry Giroux (1978/1988b) has argued that even if "the social studies field...is in part characterized by a pedagogy" that "produces students who are either afraid or unable to think critically," it would be "too simpleminded a response to lay the blame exclusively on either teachers or students. Such a perspective ignores that the essence of schooling lies in its relationship to the larger socioeconomic reality" (pp. 61-62). Giroux's distinction between factors either within or outside of the control and responsibility of teachers is obviously important for assessing the future prospects for critical thinking in social studies, since it suggests differences in the extent to which changes might be brought about through the ideas, efforts, and commitments of teachers themselves. Yet, such a distinction has been generally neglected in studies that have focused narrowly on the beliefs and activities of the teachers and students within social studies classrooms.

Steps toward redressing this neglect can be seen in studies by the Project on Higher Order Thinking in the High School Curriculum, which was directed by Fred Newmann at the National Center on Effective Secondary Schools (see Newmann 1991a, pp. 336-337; 1991b). One notable feature of this project was its departure from a narrow focus on the beliefs and instructional practices of individual teachers, to a broader concern for institutional and cultural contexts bearing on the possibilities for "thoughtfulness" in high school classrooms. The factors studied and reported by this project included, for example, organizational factors that affect "classroom thoughtfulness" (Ladwig 1991) and school leadership in promoting and facilitating higher order thinking (McCarthy and Schrag 1990; King 1991).

Such research brings long-overdue attention to constraints brought to bear from outside the social studies profession itself. The project found, for example, that "the barriers to promotion of higher-order thinking in social studies" included factors such as the large numbers of students, the lack of planning time, and the culture of teacher isolation—all of which can be attributed in part to economic and other social factors not under the control of teachers. Other barriers, however, would seem to come more directly within the responsibility and the realm of possibilities for change by teachers: "instruction as knowledge transmission," a "curriculum of coverage," and the teachers' low expectations of their students (Onosko 1991).

Giroux (1978/1988b) explains these pedagogical barriers, as well as the institutional or economic barriers, in relation to a broader political and ideological regime in which "the real business of schools appears to be to socialize students into accepting and reproducing the existing society" (p. 62). Giroux argues that, in the service of this socializing program, the schools have established false conceptions of "critical thinking," which stop short of the real critical thinking that would equip students to question, challenge, or transform society.

On this level of generality, Giroux appears to be in harmony with Engle and Ochoa (1988), who argue that the social studies properly must serve both the functions of socialization and "countersocialization." Engle and Ochoa argue on the basis of their analysis of the kinds of competence, including competence for critical thinking, that are required for real and meaningful citizenship, which they take as the ultimate and defining purpose of the social studies.

This general agreement on the need, or even the propriety, of "countersocialization" as a function of the social studies is not shared by the profession as a whole, according to James Leming (1989, 1992a, 1992b). Leming refers to Engle and Ochoa as espousing an unhelpful "fringe position" on the definition of citizenship as a goal for the social studies (Leming 1992b, p. 505). Leming first speculated (1989), and then sought to demonstrate empirically (1992b), the hypothesis that the progressive critical position of college and university professors of social studies represents a distinctive academically-oriented cultural ideology that is substantially at odds with the ideology and culture that pervades K-12 social studies classrooms.

Leming's work has implications for critical thinking in the social studies. First, Leming implies that academics should confine themselves to working within the profession's cultural mainstream: One must "find the center and begin to position oneself in order to be an effective voice within that venue" (1992b, p. 506). Second, Leming suggests that the positions to be considered seriously on questions such as goals and rationales should be limited to those that might be found agreeable within a unified profession, lest we end up "standing on the platform arguing about where we wish to go as the train for a new destination takes off without us" (p. 506). Leming's most serious argument, however, challenges the basic validity of using social studies to promote countersocialization in a democratic society in which the public does not and would not endorse such a function for the public schools.

Leming (1989, 1992a) argues that defining "citizenship" as the rationale for social studies suffers from two serious problems: (1) any usably clear definition would require substantive agreement on civic values and perhaps even a shared vision of the ideal society, which appears unlikely and perhaps undesirable (and is not something that could be established for the society by social studies teachers, in any case); and (2) social studies instruction has proven ineffective in promoting even such limited aspects of citizenship as voting behavior. He concludes:

> What, then, does this leave for the social studies? In a word, knowledge. The development of an accurate knowledge of our American history, our traditions and the social world, should be the superordinate goal of social studies instruc-

> tion. Our job as professionals should be to develop interesting, engaging, and effective means of achieving this goal (Leming 1992a, p. 310).

Perhaps Leming would not want to see his position interpreted as a proscription against critical thinking as a goal of social studies education, but Leming's personal intentions are not the issue here. Leming has spelled out a rationale that does rule out the kinds of intellectual activity that Giroux, Clarke (1990), and others regard as absolutely essential for developing the ability of students to think critically.

Some might think that Leming's viewpoint does not merit the attention we are paying to it here. We believe, however, that he has been articulating principles that might be seen already operating in opposition to the promotion of critical thinking in the social studies. It is our impression from our survey of the literature, for example, that scholars and researchers who would have dealt with "critical thinking" a dozen years ago are instead writing about "higher order thinking" or simply "thoughtfulness." Barry Beyer has expressly commented that it might be better to abandon the term *critical thinking*:

> Ideally, the term *critical thinking* will some day be replaced by a more precise term, such as *evaluative thinking*. Critical thinking has unfortunate, negative connotations. It implies harsh criticism, fault finding, or negative judgments. Use of this term to describe important skills of evaluation used in everyday acts of thinking evokes needless confusion, suspicion, and at times even hostility. Referring to these specific skills as *evaluative thinking* can eliminate this negative reaction and describe even more accurately the operations to which it refers (Beyer 1988, pp. 60-61; cf. 1987, p. 32).

The research on "thoughtfulness" indicates that there are serious barriers to any thinking whatsoever in the social studies classroom; it is reasonable to surmise that until conditions are established for thoughtfulness in general, thinking that is also "critical" is much less likely to take place. Moreover, Beyer and others surely do not think of themselves as abandoning critical thinking itself, but only the word *critical* and its negative associations.

We believe that these shifts in terminology reflect substantive responses—although not conscious or intentional—to the conditions referred to by Leming and the problems of legitimation and effectiveness that he articulates. We believe there is a clear and present danger of critical thinking—the real intellectual activity, and not just the terminology—being abandoned even as an avowed objective of the social studies. The idea that terms like "higher order thinking operations" can be substituted without a loss or change of meaning is only possible, we believe, once "critical thinking" has been misinterpreted in ways that neglect the essential character of true critical thinking in the real world. One step toward a more adequate approach will be to restore the traditional distinction between the practical and merely technical aspects of human activity.

Future Scenarios

Any attempt to predict the future of critical thinking in social education can only be a possible estimate at best. Still, we can pose three future scenarios, each a very general estimate of things to come. The most likely outcome, based on past practice and current evidence, is that we will continue to see very little evidence of critical thinking in social studies education. We have a number of reasons for making this prediction. The very weight of traditional practice is an enormous obstacle for teachers to overcome. We tend to teach as we have been taught, and the dominant approach to social studies is still direct instruction to transmit low-level knowledge. This pressure is reinforced by the educational structure in which social studies instruction takes place. Textbooks remain as the most conspicuous instructional resource. Perhaps most important is the fact that, in the short run, it is easier for teachers to plan and teach in accordance with a direct instruction approach.

The traditional pressure for and convenience of direct instruction is reinforced by several other factors. For example, the continued emphasis on standardized testing reinforces direct instruction, since the nature of such tests tends to reward the successful transmission of basic information. Reinforcing all these tendencies is the successful conservative restoration initiated over the past two decades. The ideological orientation of this movement is captured in the work of Leming (1989, 1992a and b), E.D. Hirsch (1988), Alan Bloom (1987), Diane Ravitch and Chester Finn (1987), and others discussed earlier. These educators lament the generally poor student performance when asked to recall or identify "important" social studies facts, persons, and events. The prevailing assumption is that students must be provided with certain core knowledge as a basis for any future critical thought.

The conservative restoration has passed through several phases—back-to-basics, career education, teacher accountability, management by objectives, teacher effectiveness research, and the education for excellence movement that resulted from the numerous critical reports on education in the early 1980s (Shor 1986). As Leming (1992a) makes clear, the majority of social studies teachers appear to agree with the aims of the conservative approach to social studies education. We should also note that most preservice and inservice teacher education programs appear to have had relatively little impact on changing prevailing social studies practice over the past two decades. Finally, the continuing heavy workload for most social studies teachers provides little time to plan for more critical approaches.

Of course, should this scenario prove to be accurate, it would be an unfortunate outcome that threatened the survival of our democratic culture.

A second possible scenario for critical thinking in social studies might take several forms, stimulated by various schools of thought that have sought to influence the field. Among these schools is the view of critical thinking as a discrete set of skills that can be applied to widely varied content and contexts (e.g., Beyer 1985, 1987, 1988). Others, like McPeck (1981), argue that critical thinking skills are always content- and context-specific; that is, one must always think critically about something specific, and there is no reason to suppose that skills learned in one context will easily transfer to others. This dispute has generated considerable debate, but both camps seems to share certain assumptions—for example, that critical thinking can be taught directly as some set of procedures and skills, however context-dependent these might be (Weinstein 1993).

Several recent developments in social studies reform work to promote such partial or limited approaches to critical thinking. First is the resurgence of interest in teaching history and the social science disciplines. This approach to social studies education is an extension of earlier positions (e.g., Bruner 1960; Lowe 1969) that assumed each discipline had its own particular structure but that all the disciplines were united by a unified approach to scientific inquiry.* The revived interest in study of the disciplines is reflected in several recent reform proposals (e.g., The Bradley Commission 1988; National Commission on Social Studies in the Schools 1989). The goal is to have students think critically within the frameworks of the various disciplines and the larger framework of scientific inquiry. Certainly such an approach to critical thinking appears to hold more potential than the more limited view of critical thought as a set of specific skills, but we should recall two points: (1) the disciplines themselves are social constructions that represent particular (and thus limited) perspectives, and (2) assumptions regarding a unified view of science have been called into question if not rejected by most philosophers of science. Consequently, any approach to teaching critical thinking based primarily on the social science disciplines will reflect inherent limitations.

Another recent reform stimulus promoting a limited approach to critical thinking is the outcomes-based approach to education. This reform stimulus is closely linked to movements for national or "world class" standards (e.g., Goals 2000). Much of the impetus for this reform effort is driven by the perception that student performance has declined significantly over the past 20 years and that U.S. students' performance lags far behind most of their counterparts in Japan, Europe, and many other nations. The fact that the evidence for such assertions is questionable has had no serious impact on the incessant critique of our schools (Bracey 1992). As some critics note metaphorically, even if the 1993 Oldsmobile is not worse that the 1963 model, it is still not good enough to meet the competition of the 21st century.

The outcomes-based (OBE) approaches to social studies generally do emphasize critical thinking as one of the outcomes students are expected to meet. However, most of the OBE programs we have seen are focused on more narrow and technical conceptions of critical thinking. Furthermore, given the focus on international economic and scientific competition that has motivated OBE programs, there is little emphasis on the social criticism we believe essential to critical thinking in social studies.

In short, the second scenario for the future of critical thinking in the social studies holds some potential for improving current conditions. It has had strong support from the federal government and many state governments. On the other hand, a significant backlash against OBE has occurred in several states and by certrain right-wing groups. In any case, we have tried to indicate why this scenario for critical thinking is inherently limited, no matter how widely implemented. We turn now to a third possible scenario, the revival of the practical tradition.

Reclaiming the Practical Tradition

We propose that the development of practical social competence should be the principal aim of social studies education. More specifically, we argue that practical social competence should provide the framework for critical thinking. The tradition of practical reasoning has been largely displaced in modern industrial society by instrumental (technical or functional) means-ends rationality. Reclaiming the practical tradition will not be easy. The emergence and gradual dominance of positivistic English thought since the 17th century has restricted the everyday meaning of terms like *practical* and *pragmatic* to "having instrumental utility" or "technical skill." We need to recall an older tradition wherein practical competence is distinguished from technical or instrumental skills.

By *practical competence* we mean the competence required for human social action or *praxis*. The Greek word for practical competence (particularly the intellectual aspect of such competence) is *phronesis*. This competence is an inherently social and interpretive mode of activity characteristic of all human beings. Put another way, phronesis is never merely something humans can do but part of what constitutes us as human beings. In this sense, phronesis or practical reasoning is a basic human interest.

Phronesis is a fundamental human interest because it is required for praxis that aims at the realization of human well-being or good. Human well-being by nature is open to continual reinterpretation. Thus, practical competence is as much a matter of the competence to reformulate conceptions of the goals we pursue as it is a matter of ability to choose and carry out appropriate action in the pursuit of those goals.

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*Note that Schwab's (1968) views should not be confused with this school of thought, since he has a more pragmatic conception of disciplinary inquiry.

In contrast, technical or instrumental rationality is aimed at the production of results that can be specified in advance. This is no trivial ability, and many social activities require it. However, it is a restricted form of competence wherein one knows in advance the specific goal to be achieved and the parameters that would result in the most efficient solution. Such a convergent form of thinking is too limited to serve as a basis for critical thinking in social studies. Some examples of technical competence might include: taking a survey, using the right statistical procedure, reading a map, arranging events in chronological order, explaining how the electoral college functions, and so on.

Contrast this with the open-ended social situations that require practical reasoning—deciding if the United States should intervene militarily in Vietnam, Kuwait, Bosnia, Somalia, etc.; taking a position on gay and lesbian rights or freedom of speech cases; formulating drug policy; deciding how to deal with poverty; and determining what to include in the social studies curriculum. These are issues or problems for which there are neither predetermined solutions nor agreement on the best process to move toward resolution.

Practical reasoning is also essential to our day-to-day existence, both for making high-stakes personal decisions such as when and whom to marry or what career to pursue, as well as less significant decisions such as deciding how to respond in various conversations. In fact, the practical linguistic (pragmatic) competence required to hold a conversation can be understood as a paradigmatic instance of this type of reasoning, since there are virtually an unlimited range of responses one could make in conversation. Practical reasoning, by definition, cannot be taught directly. Teaching someone the correct choice in an open-ended problem situation fails on two counts. First, the student cannot make a choice when someone else makes it for him/her. Second, to suggest to students that a particular decision is *the* correct decision is to contradict the very process involved in open-ended problems. We are not suggesting that teachers should never "model" an open-ended decision-making process or engage in a discussion of the merits of one decision versus others. Such strategies might be helpful; in the final analysis, however, one acquires practical competence by doing it. In other words, one must be exposed to genuinely problematic situations and given the opportunity to make a reasoned judgment. A teacher can give feedback regarding the student's judgment but must let the student make the judgment.

For these and other reasons, the direct instruction of critical thinking skills posed by Beyer, McPeck, and others will not contribute much to developing practical competence. We are not denying the limited value of direct instruction, particularly as an adjunct to teacher modeling of critical thinking. However, suggesting that a generic set of thinking skills can be transferred to open-ended problem solving in very different situations could actually be counter-productive. Practical reasoning requires ongoing reinterpretation from context to context as well as throughout the problem-solving process within a specific context.

What of the approaches to critical thinking recommended by proponents of reflective inquiry in social studies (e.g., Oliver and Shaver 1966; Hunt and Metcalf 1968)? Here we encounter some different problems. First, there has been a tendency to focus on problems determined by student interest (e.g., Barr, Barth and Shermis 1977). This tendency probably derives from a misreading of Dewey and, in any event, is never an adequate criterion for determining curriculum. However, if they are to acquire practical competence, students must come to see the problems we select for study as "real" problems.

A more significant problem is the tendency of reflective inquiry advocates to cast social problem solving in terms of an a priori commitment to a core set of democratic values (see Stanley 1992, pp. 71-73, 81-83). These core values—democracy, human dignity, toleration, diversity, and so on—are employed as fundamental criteria against which solutions to social problems should be judged. This approach to problem solving poses a choice between a set of "good" values and other lesser values or considerations (e.g., efficiency, power, self interest) and so forth. It is an approach taken by both mainstream social educators and advocates of critical pedagogy.

Interestingly, the latter group seems well aware of the false fact-value dichotomy inherent in positivist thought. However, they do not seem aware of the positivist approach they take to values when they assume a priori value claims (e.g., emancipation or equality) to orient social action (see, for example, Giroux 1988a, passim, esp. pp. 71-111). Ironically, these progressive social educators seem to presuppose that values are posited in much the way that Leming (1989, 1992a) has described, with differences arising only on the empirical question of which values actually are authorized by the American public to orient socialization in the schools. If Leming is correct about public values (now, or at any time in the future), as understood within this positivistic framework, it is hard to see how the progressives could overcome his argument against the legitimacy of any "countersocializing" function for the public schools.

The question of supporting or opposing "countersocialization" is a false issue, however, which has been constructed on the basis of a misunderstanding of "socialization" itself as some kind of debilitating imposition of conformity. Socialization has long been understood, rather, as the development in individuals of the *competence* afforded by their society (see, e.g., Inkeles 1966), including the practical competence for critical thinking capable of fundamentally challenging and transcending the practices and understandings currently prevailing within the society. As Gee (1990) argues partly through linguistic examples, development as a member of a language community or a society is fulfilled only at a stage where one is competent to improvise and to participate in fundamental transformations (cf. Habermas 1979, esp. pp. 69-94).

Socialization into history or the social science disciplines provides another example of this principle. It seems absurd to represent disciplinary "socialization" as a training in replication, confirmation, and extension of established theories to new implementations, and to treat the questioning and challenging of accepted theories as a result of "countersocialization" based on opposing "values." Rather, the real interest in transcending current practices and understandings is intrinsic to the scientific enterprise as such and is fundamental to the enabling socialization of new members into the scientific community. A researcher who lacks critical competence suffers from deficient socialization, not from a lack of "countersocialization."

We realize that it is difficult to think about these matters without relapsing into the positivistic framework in which "facts" and "values" come from different universes, so that our orientation to our "factual" existence is thought to be oriented by extrinsic "values" unaccountable to more or less competent critical interrogation. That the practical approach to critical thinking has become so counterintuitive in our culture is reason to suspect that this is probably the least likely scenario for the future of critical thinking in the social studies. Nevertheless, we would argue that practical competence for critical thought is the approach best related to the growth and survival of our democratic culture.

Conclusion

At its annual meeting in November 1992, the National Council for the Social Studies adopted a formal definition and a mission statement that embraced civic competence as the overarching goal of social studies education. Some of the more progressive social educators have expressed concern that this could mark a retreat from the pursuit of critical thinking and other goals that have been predicated on the basis of specific definitions of "citizenship." While recognizing that a retreat from critical thinking and other worthy goals of social education might be a real danger at this time, we do not, however, feel such a retreat is inherent in the identification of competence as our objective. To the contrary: competence demands critical thinking and necessarily includes the competence to think critically. It provides a standard for opposing efforts to constrain critical competence in the pursuit of non-educational political agendas.

What makes critical thinking as a *practical* activity fundamentally different from "thinking skills" as an array of merely technical abilities is, finally, its own intrinsic orientation to the future. By definition, technique aims to effectuate outcomes that can (in principle) be determined in advance. Practical activity, which includes critical thinking, is that activity which opens up new future possibilities, so that in principle it cannot be limited by preformulated outcomes and requires ongoing reformulation and assessment of the kinds of people, as individuals and societies, that we might seek to become. What is at stake, here, is the question of whether social studies students will be developing the competence to participate in determining their own futures, and ours. The future of critical thinking in the social studies, therefore, is no less than a question of the future of the future itself.

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Chapter 5

THE FUTURE OF EQUITY IN SOCIAL STUDIES

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Schools and school curriculum, as creations of society, have long treated learners differentially; that is, some children have had greater access to knowledge. That access, along with success in school generally, has been based upon such non-school-related variables as race, gender, disability, and social class. At the same time, educational opportunity has been part of the American belief system since the early days of the republic. Educational opportunity meant that no one of talent and intelligence should be denied an education; schooling was not something only for the rich. Implicit in this belief, however, was the belief that those of talent and intelligence would be white males. This tension between the rhetoric of equal opportunity and the reality of selective educational opportunities and outcomes has remained, and has been one focus of educational reform in the late 20th century.

By the 1970s, it was expected that schools would provide all young people with equal educational opportunity. Yet while a belief in educational opportunity has become more inclusive, a common understanding of just what that means has not followed. Does equal educational opportunity mean *identical* education for all youth, or does it mean providing the best education possible for each child, attending to the differences between children? The question may be simply put as one of *equity* or *equality* (Bennison et al. 1984). Equality is often interpreted to mean "sameness"; that is, making sure that no one is treated differently on the basis of gender, race, religion, disability, or social class. Equality means providing all young people with equal educational opportunity. Differences such as race, gender, and social class would not be relevant to making educational decisions. Equity, on the other hand, is a concern with justice and fairness. This concept of equity moves us away from a focus on providing the *same* opportunities, and toward considerations of how to provide education in ways that are fair and just. The concept of equity includes, as well, those with disabilities, who would be ill-served by equal (same) treatment but well-served by equitable treatment.

The goal of equity is based on the assumption that people are alike in some ways and different in others. All human beings, whatever gender, race, ethnicity, or disability, are alike in their rights to well-being, self-respect, and self-actualization. Education is a mechanism by which individuals can receive those rights, those social goods. The need for different educational treatments arises because in our society some individuals *are* advantaged because of race, ethnicity, or gender, and special treatment must be available for those who are disadvantaged by these factors. At times, gender, race, or some other factor must be taken into account in order to meet the needs of a particular group, that is, in order to be fair.

In a just society, equitable schooling would mean that there are no systematic differences in the distribution of the conditions, practices, and outcomes of schooling based in race, gender, or social class. Efforts to achieve equity in schools, however, must acknowledge that such differences exist. In addition, equitable practices include working with the differences of disabled learners. Fairness requires educators to provide conditions and practices that would ideally enable all children to succeed in school. Just what fairness and justice would look like in schools is not something readily agreed upon. This essay presents a vision of what equity would mean in one part of the school curriculum—social studies.

Equity in Social Studies

From its earliest days, social studies has focused on citizenship as a major goal. The early visions of social studies, as embedded, for example, in the 1916 report of the Committee on Social Studies of the Commission on the Reorganization of the Secondary Schools, advocated social studies as a vehicle for "social improvement through citizenship education" (Saxe 1992, p. 270). Still today, the National Council for the Social Studies endorses a definition that highlights the role of the social studies in citizenship education.

Issues of equity would seem to be part and parcel of citizenship education in a democratic society. Concerns with equity, concerns with justice and fairness, are central to citizenship in a democracy. A democratic society that is also characterized by diversity must constantly struggle to balance the competing demands of respect for differences and desire for cohesiveness. In a nation in which governance rests ultimately with the people, all people must be prepared to assume the role of citizen and to engage in the ongoing social reconstruction of the balance between diversity and cohesion. Furthermore, and importantly, all people must see themselves in the definition of citizen.

Alternative Visions

We must not assume, however, that there is agreement on just what equity in social studies would look like. Indeed, at least two very different visions for equity in the social studies are suggested by current theories and practices.

In the first vision, equity is conceived as equality; that is, all students are to have access to the traditions, history, and practices of the United States and Western Europe. Those who embrace this vision look at the increasingly virulent ethnic rivalries around the world and argue that our own multiethnic society can only survive by instilling all members with a knowledge of and a respect for the traditions on which this nation was built. Rather than emphasize differences, this vision focuses on a common culture. Equity means providing access to this common culture through a rigorous curriculum for all young people, not just for the privileged.

I wish to argue, however, that an emphasis on unity, which seeks to minimize diversity, will not serve the interests of equity in social studies. What I offer here is an alternative vision that seeks to redefine unity by valuing diversity. This vision is based on prescriptions for what social studies ought to be that can be found in the literature on social studies education through much of the 20th century, but this vision is based, as well, on current practices and trends that suggest that the theoretical vision of what social studies ought to be is within our grasp.

I will focus my discussion of issues of equity in social studies around three key issues: curriculum, pedagogy, and school context. The discussion of curriculum will deal specifically with the intended or planned curriculum and focus on the formal content of the social studies. Pedagogy deals with questions of instruction, the "how" of teaching. Issues of curriculum and those of instruction are not easily separable; one clearly influences the other. Access to knowledge, for example, is shaped and controlled by teaching practices and expectations of learning. Nonetheless, it is useful for the sake of discussion to raise these as separate questions. Assessment, too, is closely tied to both curriculum and pedagogy, but is worth looking at as a separate issue. Finally, no teacher and no classroom exist in a vacuum. I turn to contextual issues at the end of the chapter.

Curriculum. Social studies curriculum has come under increasing pressure to be more inclusive of the diverse people who make up American society; there is no reason to conclude that this pressure will be diminished. The reasons many social studies educators see a more multicultural curriculum as something positive are numerous. A multicultural curriculum is, first of all, more accurate. The disciplines that contribute to social studies have themselves widened their vision. Historians no longer focus their inquiries solely on kings and presidents; sociologists no longer simply search for laws of human behavior; political scientists and economists are interested in human behavior and values. The study of human beings, as individuals and in groups, cannot and does not ignore the richness and complexity of humanity. These trends in the disciplines will influence what gets taught in social studies. Equity as inclusiveness, then, is, and will continue to be, a trend into the 21st century.

Beyond the issue of what constitutes the disciplines that contribute to social studies in the schools are questions about the role and function of social studies. In a time of change, our society is revisiting questions about the meaning of citizenship and participation in society. New immigrants bring different values and different ways, often non-Western, of viewing the world. These perspectives cannot simply be put aside upon arrival to this country, nor can they be ignored by those already here. Rather, these new perspectives must be woven into what it means to be considered American, what it means to be a citizen (LeSourd 1991). As immigrants enter our schools and as our population becomes increasingly nonwhite, the curriculum will respond, not only to the needs but to the perspectives of diverse groups.

The time is ripe, then, for social studies to revisit such questions. A curriculum that is not inclusive of all society is alienating to those not included. If social studies is about citizenship, it cannot be alienating to some citizens. A social studies curriculum that takes the charge of citizenship seriously must allow for all voices, invite all participants to be heard.

Some critics are concerned that multiple perspectives may weaken our notions of community and threaten the bonds that unite us as a nation. This very diversity, some fear, threatens the values upon which this nation rests, including notions of equity. Some, therefore, would argue for the first vision of equity in social studies described previously. They would assert that we would best preserve equity, and American ideals, by educating all people to see and understand through a traditional, Western perspective. It is unlikely, however, that this argument will hold sway in the long run. An old argument, it dominated during earlier periods of immigration and social change, but these are new times. Today's students are the children of television and computers. They have watched wars and the collapse of nations as they happened. They fearlessly use computers and interact with children around the city and, even, around the world. In their day-to-day lives, they may well be better able than adults to understand what it means to listen to multiple voices and hear multiple perspectives (Noddings 1992).

Young people today can speak of pluralism and multiple perspectives with concrete experiences in mind. Schools, and social studies, must help make those experiences educative and positive. Social studies must enable young people to know themselves and their history, but in ways that are open and connected to others and to difference. It is in social studies that we can best open the dialogue that will enable young people to connect to one another and to the world. A vision of social studies must (will) be one that introduces youth to "... the unexplored power of pluralism, and the wonders of an expanding community" (Greene 1993).

Pedagogy. In the late 20th century, teachers find they need to learn how to teach children who are culturally different than themselves. While these differences may be more apparent in cities than in suburbs, in some parts of the country than in others, cultural diversity is not confined to a few schools or regions. Rather, cultural diversity is characteristic of our population today, especially the school-age population. Criticisms of the failures of American education make it difficult to ignore the need to work with diverse students. Educators across the country are working to develop teaching strategies that are appropriate to today's youth.

Too often, young people are confronted with cultural discontinuities between home life and school (Gay 1991). Classroom structure and roles, for example, may present students with a set of expectations vastly different from those they encounter in the home. Ways of learning may differ. For some culturally different students, active involvement and kinesthetic experiences are more comfortable and familiar modes of learning (Gay 1991, p. 147). Cooperative learning, for example, is, for some, an attempt to respond to cultural differences.

In addition, efforts toward greater inclusiveness of learners with disabilities will, and by law must, continue. The Individuals with Disabilities Education Act requires that schools make a significant effort to find inclusive solutions for children with handicaps. To the extent that children with disabilities will benefit from being in the "regular" classroom, inclusion involves bringing support services to the children and their teachers rather than pulling children with disabilities from the classroom to receive special services (Rogers 1993). Disabilities do not deprive Americans of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship. Inclusion in the social studies classroom is crucial for the citizenship education of all students; both disabled and non-disabled learners can benefit from shared social studies experiences.

Efforts to develop more culturally congruent and inclusive instruction are likely to continue, if only in response to current failures and criticism. If teachers receive the support and training necessary to learn new and often complex practices, then the 21st century will see greater instructional equity in social studies, as well as in other areas. It is unlikely, given the political and social changes and the pressure being put on schools at this time, that teachers will be able to continue teaching in the same old ways, particularly when working with culturally diverse and disabled students. Further, like curriculum, pedagogical practices must respond to the experiences of youth. Children who are comfortable learning with interactive media will find classrooms that demand the passive intake of bits of information to be increasingly irrelevant.

Assessment. Issues of assessment are, of course, closely tied to curriculum and instruction. At best, assessment provides educators, students, and parents with information about curriculum and about student development. Too often, assessment shapes curriculum to fit the needs of efficient and cost-effective measurement. Standardized testing has been accused of cultural bias, of reflecting middle-class, mainstream knowledge and experience. When such testing comes to dominate a curriculum, interests of equity are ill-served.

At the end of the 20th century, calls for accountability are increasing. Schools are being criticized, and the public wants to see improvement. Pressure to move away from standardized, multiple-choice testing as the measure of school improvement is increasing. Authentic assessment, involving students in real-life tasks enabling them to apply knowledge learned in school, is being promoted as a more real, and a fairer, method of assessing what children know and are able to do. Issues of equity are served through authentic assessment in that, when done well, it allows for diverse ways of demonstrating knowledge and skill. Authentic assessment calls for engagement on the part of learners and is consistent with educational practices that allow learners to construct meaning for themselves. At their best, such practices and assessment methods draw upon, and are sensitive to, students' prior knowledge and experiences. To the extent that both educators and parents are educated in using and making sense of student performances as a method of assessment, equity in schooling generally, and in social studies particularly, may be served.

A Possible Future

Some educators will argue that the vision described above will remain only that, a vision, a possibility, but not actual practice. The history of social studies in the 20th century might suggest that vision and practice are unlikely to come together. Just as the history of our democracy has not exemplified the ideal of inclusiveness, so too has social studies in practice failed to realize the goal of preparing students for active participation in public life.

As taught, social studies seems to bear little resemblance to the social studies advocated in educational literature throughout the 20th century. Social studies as practiced often appears as a series of disconnected facts presented in acritical ways (Kincheloe 1989). It appears as received knowledge, bearing little connection to the experiences of students. In fact, to many students, it is one of the most boring, lifeless sets of courses they take. The human dimension is somehow lost in the myriad pieces of information being dispensed (Goodlad 1984). To the extent that a vision of citizenship guides the social studies curriculum, it is often a vision very different from the one advocated in the scholarly literature.

The vision of citizenship held by some teachers and practiced in many classrooms is a passive one, in which students are being socialized to fit into existing social structures (Goodman and Adler 1985). So striking is this disjunction between visions of what ought to be and images of what is in the teaching of social studies, that one commentator has referred to the "two cultures of social studies education" (Leming 1989). While theorists argue that students must be prepared to function as independent thinkers who will effect a changing world, teachers do not see the classroom as the appropriate place for the active and critical discussion of controversial issues. From the teacher perspective, control and socialization are more appropriate goals for social studies than advocacy of active and critical civic participation. An abyss, argues Leming, separatees theorists and practitioners. Social studies as taught serves an essentially conservative function, reproducing existing social structures and modes of thinking.

Whether viewed as a dull subject with little connection to real lives or as a way to gain compliance to the existing social order, social studies might appear to have little to do with issues of equity. If students are discouraged from confronting controversial issues in the classroom, if they are taught about governing only from a procedural perspective, if the stuff of social studies has little connection to their real lives, then issues such as equity—uncertain, controversial, ever-changing—have no place in the social studies classroom. Leming's arguments, along with a good deal of evidence that classroom practices are highly resistant to change (Cuban 1984), might suggest little hope for change. Issues of equity might well have as little bearing in social studies in the next century as they have had in the last.

Yet there is reason for optimism and for some expectation of change. Since schools are a major institution through which our society socializes young people, no changes can take root in schools unless they are rooted in society. The many visions and concerns of our culture are reflected in our schools. Indeed, many of these visions work at cross-purposes to one another; consequently, practices in schools may appear contradictory. Schools, for example, are places of learning; yet competitive sports often seem to dominate the activities of a school. Critical thinking can be found as a goal in most schools, yet most of the teaching we find in schools emphasizes the uncritical memorization of facts (Goodlad 1984). Equity is one of those school goals around which we find a good deal of contradiction. Americans see schools as places of equal opportunity, where merit, not birthright, will enable a young boy or girl to succeed. Yet school practices often reinforce the inequalities found in society.

Current school practices reflect the values and ideologies of the 20th century. During this century, schools as we know them and the curricula found there were established and nourished. They reflect the industrial age of which they are a part. The dominant values of efficiency and standardization, values of an industrial society, became embedded in schools. While ideals of justice, fairness, and equity were never disclaimed, practices of schools, like those of society, represented a dominant ideology of social efficiency, order and control.

This domination has not been uncontested. The voices of opposition heard throughout history have left their marks on schools and curricula. The very idea of citizenship and what it means to be a citizen in a democracy has been one of those areas of struggle and opposition. Citizenship is, after all, a socially constructed practice, to be reconstructed by each generation (Giroux 1988). The notion of citizenship is not static and unchanging; rather, it is evolving as our society changes and as different voices come to be heard.

We are living in times of change. Our school system was born and nourished by an industrializing, urbanizing society that found its security, and its growing sense of greatness, in its relative isolation from the rest of the world. Ours is a different world, a post-industrial society characterized by global interdependence and technological dependency. Today's immigrants bring non-Western perspectives and experiences. The certainties of the old age are no longer; the voices of a diverse people are raised as we feel our way into a new age. As we shape and reshape the values and practices that guide us into the 21st century, questions of equity, of fairness and justice, come to the front.

Changing School Structures

Equity in social studies calls for the development of multicultural curriculum, as well as culturally congruent and inclusive pedagogy and assessment strategies, which, while rigorous, allow for diversity of responses. All of this is possible, even probable, given current trends. None of it is likely, however, without changing school settings and expectations. Teacher educators must help to prepare teachers who can develop and use diverse teaching strategies and assessments. Yet the best teacher preparation won't matter if schools are not structured in ways that encourage the use of diverse teaching strategies and assessments. Educators can call for changes, but if change is not encouraged and nurtured in schools, even the best intentions of teachers won't matter. What, then, is needed for equity in the teaching and learning of social studies to continue to develop in positive ways? What school changes would help to promote equity in social studies?

One change increasingly promoted by many educators is greater heterogeneity in classrooms. Students can best be encouraged to engage with diverse others if a stage for engagement is provided in the classroom. Concrete experiences with multiple perspectives in the social studies class can be found in the interaction of students with one another as well as with diverse teaching materials.

Heterogeneous classrooms best serve the goal of equity in social studies if they are also democratic classrooms. A democratic classroom atmosphere is one that encourages deliberation of ideas with respectful attention to the thoughts and contributions of all members of the class. Democratic classrooms are unlikely to flourish in places where teachers themselves are not engaged in deliberation. If the ideas of teachers are not encouraged and respected, it is less likely that teachers will be able to create forums for deliberation in their own classrooms.

Another change, then, is for schools to become more democratic. The rhetoric of teacher professionalization advocates greater teacher input in school decision-making. Beneath the slogan of teacher as decision-maker, however, are many pitfalls. The decisions teachers make must be directly related to the work of teaching and the day-to-day needs of the classroom. Teachers don't have time to run a school, but they can work together as colleagues in curriculum development and instructional improvement. Furthermore, collegial school improvement takes time as well as commitment—time to meet, to share ideas, to work together. If educators are to take seriously the potential for teachers themselves to contribute to school improvement, then time must be made available for deliberation and reflection.

Teachers need improved curriculum materials, materials that reflect issues of equity and diversity. They also need assistance in the development of teaching practices necessary for the successful implementation of new materials. Inservice that helps teachers work together and provides the support needed to implement new practices has a much greater chance of helping to effect real change than does inservice that exhorts or prescribes, but does not work with teachers.

Efforts to make curriculum and instruction more equitable are not new, and it is easy to be discouraged by the failures of past innovations. But we are living in changing times. The social and cultural contexts of schools are rapidly changing, and schools will respond to those changes. As John Goodlad wrote, "As a people, we often come to the brink before we act. We are nearing the edge" (Goodlad 1990, p. 7). The opportunity to make change exists. In social studies those changes can be ones that will promote real equity in social studies and in schools.

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Chapter 6

A BOLD VISION FOR THE FUTURE OF SOCIAL STUDIES

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In 1939, James A. Michener edited a bulletin published by the National Council for the Social Studies titled *The Future of the Social Studies* (the first chapter of which is reprinted beginning on page 3 of this text). In that volume, writer after writer (including the most prominent names in the field) described their visions of a social studies curriculum infused with study of persisting social issues and culminating in either a one-year Problems of Democracy course or a two-year sequence that fused relevant historical episodes with current problems. The ideas suggested in that bulletin, more than 50 years ago, offer a preferred conception of social studies more applicable to the 21st century than the current trend toward replacing social studies with history and geography.

During the 1980s, social studies became a scapegoat for neoconservative critics who sought to strengthen the near monopoly of history and geography. The California History and Social Science Framework, the formation of the Bradley Commission on History in the Schools and subsequent founding of the National Council for History Education, the report of the National Commission on Social Studies, and other allied efforts spurred an ongoing debate over the nature of social studies. In an effort to incorporate criticism and insure its continued survival, the National Council for the Social Studies drafted a definition and mission statement. Unfortunately, the definition crafted, although perhaps a step in the right direction, does not provide a sufficiently powerful alternative to the critics of social studies, nor does it move the field beyond its perennial dilemma as a derivative conglomeration of the social sciences and history, and the alternative of social studies as a unitary field of study built around the in-depth investigation of perennial human issues.

Ultimately, the current chapter in the longstanding squabble over social studies represents, at its root, a battle over purposes and the ideological direction of the curriculum, a battle between competing world views. On the one hand, advocates of a discipline-based approach to social studies tend to think of knowledge gain as the test of learning, while advocates of a reflective approach tend to emphasize thoughtfulness and social criticism. Embedded in these opposing views are competing assumptions about what counts as knowledge and whose knowledge will receive priority. Of course, the alternatives described above are not simple either/or choices, but rich alternatives, often overlapping, which represent major competing strands in curriculum theory and practice.

In developing an alternative conceptualization for social studies curricula that holds the potential for real improvement, I will discuss the following concerns:

1. Why is discipline-oriented social studies helpful but inadequate?

2. Why is an interdisciplinary approach to social studies necessary, even imperative?

3. What makes an issues-centered focus the most promising alternative for the creation of an interdisciplinary curriculum?

4. What would an issues-centered curriculum look like?

5. How might we realize this vision in schools in the years to come?

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All of this is undertaken in the belief that it matters what our children study in school, that it matters what form their studies take and what messages are implicit in school structure and in the curriculum. The stakes are very high. If social studies is to survive as a viable alternative to the trend toward history and geography as core, we must come up with a bold vision of a dynamic yet workable curriculum. Social studies educators have a big job, a crucial role to play in the future, encompassing nothing less than the ethical direction of life on earth.

Discipline-Based Social Studies

Why is discipline-oriented social studies helpful but inadequate? Social studies in schools has traditionally relied on university-based disciplines, history and the social sciences, for the core knowledge, courses, ideas, and modes of inquiry in schools. While the disciplines *do* provide much of what is needed in schools, *none* of these disciplines has the education of citizens at its core, as its central purpose. I find the notion that social studies instruction in schools must be organized around a discipline(s) sited at the university problematic for several reasons. First, the university disciplines evolved as organized forms of inquiry with the aim of scholarship, of creating knowledge. That purpose is quite different from the teaching purpose of classroom instructors, which, in social studies classrooms, aims at thoughtful citizenship.

Second, building school curricula around university-based disciplines usually leads to a focus on consumption of knowledge in the form of facts, concepts, and generalizations that are uncritically accepted by most students and many teachers. Teachers tend to place professors (especially historians) on a pedestal and to revere their knowledge. Unfortunately, this attitude creates a cult of experts and a hierarchical system through which knowledge is dispensed to teachers and students as a fait accompli. The result is reification of the facts and stories that are included in textbooks or emphasized by particular historians and ignoring of the socially constructed nature of knowledge. This subtle indoctrination to patriarchy devalues the lived experiences of students and teachers and the cultural knowledge that all parties bring to the classroom. It also tends to inspire didactic forms of teaching, in which knowledge is passively accepted by students and stored away for later use.

Third, selecting any one academic discipline as the framework for study inevitably means that knowledge from other disciplines and other sources (media, students, the community) receives second priority; choices made for students and teachers limit the borders of inquiry (Giroux 1992). Drawing on the critical literature, Nelson writes in a strongly worded passage,

> the concept of a discipline as a construct for knowledge is laden with ideological, not logical, baggage. Disciplines are the refuge of disciples, not the carriers of critical thinking. One of the means used to sterilize basic inquiry into the relations between knowledge and power is to raise discipline barriers that cast the unanointed outside and the disciples within.... In order to be a member, one has to accept the dogma of the field. From a critical perspective, the defining of knowledge barriers is tied up with issues of cultural hegemony, cultural capital, and ideological interests (Nelson 1990).

In other words, the disciplines too often serve as a subtle means of maintaining the hegemonic power of social elites.

Fourth, related to the central first point, history and the social sciences do not go far enough to meet the need for synthesis and making meaning of the world; they tend to leave that to the student. Connections to students' lives and to current issues and dilemmas are too often ignored or, at best, included as an afterthought. Citizenship and the value-laden dilemmas, issues, and decisions all humans face on a daily basis are not central to history and the social sciences, but are at the heart of social studies. This is perhaps the fundamental reason for the inadequacy of a discipline-oriented social studies (Evans 1992).

This argument does not mean that history and the social sciences should not be important parts of social studies instruction. I believe that they should be. The stories, interpretations, concepts, evidence, ways of seeing, and modes of inquiring employed by historians and social scientists are central to social study; they are our most helpful allies in the quest for knowledge and social improvement, but they are inadequate as the core vehicle for civic education in schools.

Interdisciplinary Social Studies

Why is an interdisciplinary approach to social studies necessary, even imperative? Interdisciplinarity is currently fashionable among educators, at least in their rhetoric. Yet, several factors make interdisciplinarity and extradisciplinarity important qualities of social studies education. At the heart of social studies education is the need to prepare thoughtful, knowledgeable, clear-thinking citizens. None of the established disciplines has this purpose, the preparation of citizens, at its core.

Prior to making a case, we must consider what we mean by the term *interdisciplinary*. Multiple meanings are possible, ranging from "correlation" of two or more discipline-based subjects, to "open core" education in which students and teacher are free to select the problems on which they wish to work, or "prestructured core" in which students and teacher study predetermined problems and subject matter from the disciplines and other sources (Wraga 1993). For purposes of this analysis, *interdisciplinary* means some form of core in which subject matter is brought in as part of an in-depth investigation and dialogue. As I shall argue in the pages that follow, issues provide a natural focus for in-depth, interdisciplinary study.

As explained in the previous section, the central purpose of social studies is quite different from the central purposes of the university-based disciplines. Certainly some overlap exists (the disciplines are educative of citizens), but the knowledge and concepts included, and the means of inquiry used, are fundamentally structured by the foundational aspects of the discipline and the boundaries that separate the world of social inquiry into specialized compartments.

A second major reason that social studies must be interdisciplinary is that inquiry into any real-world matter related to citizenship is naturally holistic. Social inquiry requires a search for knowledge that cannot be bound by the rules or boundaries of any university-based academic discipline. It requires using relevant evidence from any and all useful sources, including books; periodicals; videos and other forms of media; relevant works of art, music, and literature; the community; and students' lives. For meaningful social inquiry to occur, social studies educators must value the knowledge that students bring to school and remain aware of the context of their experiences. Some advocates of a discipline-based approach argue that certain disciplines are inclusive and naturally interdisciplinary. Historians, for instance, frequently champion interdisciplinarity in making a case for their discipline as the core school subject. However, the version of interdisciplinarity they suggest is bound by a chronological structure and an emphasis on historical context, rather than the context of students' experiences.

A third important argument is related to the reality that students must take action in the social world based on their personal synthesis of knowledge from a wide array of sources, their values and beliefs, and the meaning they make of their world. The beliefs students hold about their world are necessarily formative and tentative. While learning, exploring, and gaining new knowledge and experience, students are making decisions that necessarily require a synthesis of sources, decisions that will benefit from knowledge of history, geography, and the social sciences only as that knowledge is meaningfully and consciously connected to the reflective process. Some students make connections on their own. Unfortunately, many do not. Connections, implications, and meaning must be explicitly discussed and alternatives considered in order to make social studies instruction meaningful. A discipline-based approach is inadequate for conscious development of the well-rounded synthesis needed for quality decision-making and active social participation because it tends to segment and compartmentalize knowledge in ways that do not facilitate a full integration of school knowledge with student's lives and the social world.

An Issues-Centered Focus

Why are issues the best focus for social studies? Issues are the proper focus for social studies because they pose real-life problems, raise areas of doubt, motivate reflection, stimulate the need to gain knowledge, and highlight problematic areas of culture. An issues-centered approach focuses on cultural dilemmas and institutional obstacles to social improvement. Exploration and in-depth investigation of issues and the dialogue the process entails necessarily cause students to examine and reflect on the basic assumptions underlying our social institutions and lifestyles. This approach leads students to raise fundamental questions, the kinds of questions that must be addressed if students are to develop depth of social understanding. Perhaps most important, given the failings of the typical discipline-based curriculum, an issues-centered approach emphasizes the connection of school study to life in the world, connecting individual choices to public policy issues and to the ongoing and fundamental ethical dilemmas of human existence. In many classrooms, students see little or no connection between the subjects they study and the real world in which they live. As Jonathan Kozol wrote in *The Night Is Dark and I Am Far From Home*, in school, "the day begins to lose its complex wholeness and turns into separate items known as 'periods.' Imagination, diffuse as in reality it is, begins to be divided into items known as 'subject matter.' Intellect itself gets split up into 'reason' and 'emotion'...." (Kozol 1975, p. 27). Politically, this is part of a desensitization and socialization through which students learn not to seriously question oppressive social institutions from which they are disconnected. As Kozol writes, "Clean steel edges in the secret places of the well indoctrinated brain have drawn explicit demarcations. Things break down into acceptable divisions.... They live in one world: the starving beggars and their desperate children in another" (Kozol 1975, p. 37).

At this point, it may be helpful to define *issues-centered education*. By issues-centered education, I mean an approach to education centered around reflective questions, emphasizing open-ended questions, questions that have no "right" answer. This approach emphasizes thoughtfulness and depth, weighing evidence, values, and consequences; in this approach, students examine social practices using the ideals of democracy as criteria, clarifying and testing alternatives to determine which are preferable. Thus, an issues-centered approach should include knowledge, concepts, and means of inquiry from the disciplines and from other sources. The method is both discipline-based and interdisciplinary, with primary emphasis on the problems and dilemmas confronted by citizens. Inherently, issues-centered approaches have both personal and public dimensions in which ethics, questions of right and wrong, and consideration of a diversity of views are at the center of the curriculum.

Thus, issues education is built around situations and dilemmas that pose problems, that make us ponder what to do in matters of publc policy as well as in private course of action, that require us to reflect on our values and aspirations and the possible consequences of our decisions. Issues-centered education seeks to develop citizens who are well informed, who can thoughtfully reflect on the evidence, project possible consequences, weigh values and arrive at supportable and consistent beliefs. Too frequently, the beliefs of citizens are shaped by fashion, propaganda, and unreasonable fears, by lack of knowledge rather than informed thought. An issues-centered approach seeks to develop citizens who model authentic behavior in which values, beliefs, and a skeptical and reasoned approach to all kinds of relevant evidence contribute to the development of quality decisions and healthy lifestyles. Implicitly, this approach to teaching and learning requires ethical direction; it is guided by reflection on utopian visions and the consideration of alternative values and beliefs, actions and policies that will make the world a better place to live, and ours a society in which we can all get along.

This approach to social studies is not neutral. It has its origins in the tradition of progressive reform that aims to improve society (Dewey 1899; Dewey 1916). At the same time, it is nondoctrinaire in terms of suggesting preferred solutions. Issues-centered study is built upon a long history among social studies reformers (Evans 1987; Saxe 1992). This strong tradition has been somewhat diffused by an emphasis on reflective thinking in most any form. In my opinion, the object of reflection, the subject matter selected, is also an important choice. By ignoring this, advocates of reflective teaching and learning run the risk of being simply incorporated, and often lost, in curricular approaches and courses that tend not to be issues-oriented.

Though I tend to agree with Shaver (1992) that teachers and groups of teachers must come up with their own reasons for choosing an issues-centered approach, I believe there are several key rationales. First, the issues are important and cry out for our attention. Issues represent current manifestations of perennial dilemmas of public policy and of private and personal decision-making. Issues provide teachers and students with a way to thoughtfully consider the web of individuals and institutions that make up our society and the modern world, as well as a meaningful way of using knowledge from relevant sources, including especially the disciplines of history and the social sciences, in a larger attempt to find better ways to live. The aim of social improvement is a central rationale.

Second, issues are motivational because of the competing interpretations and value orientations they inspire and the emotions attached to deeply held beliefs. A dilemma with several feasible alternatives, in the hands of a thoughtful and creative teacher, can create cognitive dissonance (a feeling of doubt), a spark of heat, and a desire to know enough to resolve the dilemma. In social studies education, motivation is a key problem. An issues-centered approach has the potential to enhance student motivation and inspire reflection in a meaningful context connected to the fabric of life and to our desire for liberty, equality, and a socially just community. Designing a curriculum to facilitate this possibility is a challenge we will examine in the following pages.

Alternative Structures and Models: A Bold Vision

What would an issues-centered curriculum look like? Previous advocates of issues-centered social studies have developed alternative visions. These visions have generally conceived of issues education as an approach to be implemented across the social studies curriculum and infused within traditional course offerings. Included among previous thinkers who have advocated this approach are Rugg (1939), Hunt and Metcalf (1955), Oliver and Shaver (1966), and Engle and Ochoa (1988).

Currently, a group of advocates of issues-centered education are preparing a handbook designed to synthesize previous work and to help teachers implement an issues-centered curriculum. For the most part, the handbook accepts typical course structures, based in university disciplines, as a reality and seeks infusion of issues and reflective methods in these courses. At the same time, however, the authors of the handbook are including discussion of alternative visions for the future of social studies that are not bound by the typical scope and sequence found in schools today (Evans and Saxe, in press).

The future offers possibility for alternative visions. As we move into the 21st century and beyond, we need to explore new educational formats, experiment with various forms of curricula, and develop a dynamic vision of social studies that can empower teachers and students to develop ever more creative and meaningful ways of preparing for thoughtful citizenship. The key question guiding this exploration is the degree to which the goals of quality decisions, a thoughtful citizenry, and authentic behavior are realized.

I believe that the mediocre state of practice in the field, whether we call it history, social studies, or indoctrination to American life, requires that the alternative vision we propose be innovative and dynamic, a unitary field of study that is fully issues-centered and interdisciplinary rather than merely derivative. We must craft a vision that will lead to the kind of border crossing that Henry Giroux espouses, overcoming the boundaries of the traditional disciplines and school subjects (Giroux 1992).

Thoughtfulness, reflection, problem solving, valuing, and social criticism should be at the heart of social study. These processes must be central to any social studies program in which knowledge will be truly integrated and should be built around the investigation of persistent issues and social realities, studied in great depth. Meaningful social studies will require knowledge from many sources, not only interdisciplinary but extradisciplinary. We need a bold vision of a dynamic curriculum that can inspire deep dreams of justice and fair play, that can help us move further in the direction of social transformation, that can help us enliven social studies education and come closer to realizing the full potential of the American dream.

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Instead of building a curriculum around courses based in the academic disciplines, I believe a more powerful vision for the future of social studies might be built around certain social realities and the ethical questions and possibilities they raise. Imagine a semester-long high school course titled Race and Ethnicity in American Life; another titled Social Class, Stratification, and Social Responsibility; another on Gender in Social Life and Culture; another titled Power in America; another on Ideology, Government, and Economic Life; still another, The Border Mentality: Nationalism and International Relations; another on Philosphy in Personal and Public Life; another on Media and Social Understanding; another titled Utopian Visions and Competing Ideologies; yet another on Technology, Society, and the Environment; another titled Sex, Marriage, and Family Life; and, of course, The School as an Institution.... This incomplete list could go on. The main criterion: the course must be centered outside any of the disciplines sited at the university. A shift to semester-long courses might also help break dependence on massive textbooks and encourage use of multiple sources.

Each of these courses would be interdisciplinary by necessity, and each would have strands reflecting what we currently think of as the major sources of knowledge; each would include cross-national perspectives. Length might vary; some might be required, others elective; the curriculum might begin with An Introduction to Problems and Issues, and conclude with Philosophy and Life. It might also include a course titled Social Research, in which students would engage in in-depth research on a community or school issue, most likely a manifestation of a national or global problem. Most courses could include research components and time for individual and committee study while consulting with teachers. Most importantly, the starting point for each course would be present manifestations of persistent issues and dilemmas, something students can have firsthand knowledge of, and may be able to study directly, both within the school and in the community. Each course would be built around the reflective investigation of central questions, problems, and issues. Each course would also allow for the kind of in-depth study required for meaningful social education. Perhaps the key element would be giving teachers both the freedom and the time to reconceptualize curricula and create these courses.

It might be helpful to explore the possibilities for a particular course following this approach and then compare and contrast it with a discipline-based course. Let's take American Foreign Policy as an example. In the typical high school today, our nation's role in the world is addressed primarily in courses on U.S. history. Typically, the issue is not explicitly addressed, except in the occasional forays into current events. Yet, relevant evidence on the issue is covered as part of the chronological survey of history. In a classroom in which an issues approach is infused, the issue would at least be addressed each time the chronology dictates (Monroe Doctrine, Spanish-American War, etc.). In the alternative vision I have sketched above, our nation's role in the world would receive in-depth treatment through a separate course. The course could begin and end with the question: What role should the United States play in the world? It would examine alternatives for the future as well as our changing role in the world over time. The course might include units on various aspects of the central issue (the defense budget, world government, etc.), as well as in-depth study of key episodes in history and examination of the chronological development of U.S. foreign relations. It would, in the end, help to prepare students who are conversant on the issue and knowledgeable about its history, relevant scholarship, and evidence that might help us develop a saner and more sophisticated understanding.

In many ways a curriculum made up of the issues-oriented courses described above would be similar to problem-oriented mini-courses of the 1970s but would be much more holistic in the range of issues included and more coherent as part of a total program centered around meaningful exploration of issues. The approach I have sketched goes beyond mini-courses as elective additions to a discipline-based curriculum. The core of the proposal is the idea that interdisciplinary issues-centered courses, in the format described, would replace a discipline-based scope and sequence. Mini-courses were typically six or nine weeks long and tended to splinter in sometimes disjointed ways. The format was used to address socially relevant concerns, to meet the demands of interest groups for courses focused on their group's history (Black History, Native American History, etc.), to focus on a given teacher's area of particular interest (Civil War Military History, The American West, etc.), or to give attention to state or local history (Jenness 1990, pp. 153-154).

From Vision to Reality

How might we realize this vision of an issues-oriented curriculum? Though many social studies professionals and would-be reformers have given up hope of ever having a major impact on social studies classrooms, reformers have had some success over the years. The recent success of the revival of history, the development of the Problems of Democracy course early in this century, and the wide—though superficial—impact of the New Social Studies movement of the 1960s and 1970s are evidence that reformers can have an impact, making negativism unwarranted. Yet, hopes must be tempered by a realistic assessment of classroom constancy. Schools and classroom practices have a resilient quality, a constancy documented by Larry Cuban's descriptions of the classrooms of the past (1984).

Despite the many obstacles to change, if advocates of an issues-centered social studies are to have a greater impact on classroom practice, they must continue to speak out as an antithesis to the dominant interests that would replace social studies with history and geography. Given the range of factors that have limited attempts to reform social studies, a multi-layered approach to reform seems warranted. Advocates of issues-oriented education would probably be wise to continue promoting an issues-centered focus within present offerings. We must educate teachers on the possibilities, increasing awareness of the issues-centered vision and how it might be implemented. Such efforts might include inservice education, methods textbooks, demonstration videos, and creation of issues-oriented curricular materials and textbooks for current course offerings, as well as for innovative issues-centered courses. Dissemination—with lobbying and educating parents, teachers, and policymakers—and support for academic freedom and teacher-led curricular development could be most effective if well-organized and well-financed.

Of course, as others have suggested (Gross 1989; Shaver 1989), the chances for large-scale change are slight. We must recognize the contextual constraints and set realistic goals. Despite the realities of classroom constancy and the slight impact of many previous efforts at reform, the future offers possibility and the hope for a better tomorrow. In social studies education, that hope is for an engaging, issues-oriented curriculum, built on the legacy of previous reform efforts.

Persistence, timing, and the national political climate can all make a difference in the success of our efforts. We must continue to look forward with the knowledge that it matters, that our work could potentially have a profound impact on teachers and students and on the future of our lives together. As anthropologist Margaret Mead once wrote, "Never doubt that a small group of committed individuals can change the world. Indeed, it is the only thing that ever has" (quoted in *Seeds of Change* 1991).

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Chapter 7

THE FUTURE OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN CIVIC EDUCATION

by
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Contemplating how educators should engage young people in civic and social action to meet the needs of today and tomorrow's political sphere is a formidable task. The political landscape in 1993 is vastly different from what we might have imagined even five years ago, and no doubt will change in ways as yet unimaginable. Since 1988, we have witnessed the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the demise of Communism as the dominant ideology in Eastern and Central Europe, and the fall of the Berlin Wall.

Nevertheless, we *can* describe fundamental changes in our way of life that are likely to affect political involvement. Following is a brief description of four such changes, along with a consideration of their implications for civic participation. We review the current role of precollegiate education in fostering political participation and explore ways in which schools might become central to the development of reflective political participants.

A Changing Political and Cultural Landscape

In the mid-1990s, discernible trends and patterns are certain to shape the nature of political participation now and in the future. The world is increasingly interconnected—culturally, technologically, economically, and politically—but we have not yet adapted to this reality. Global problems, such as Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome, acid rain, and ozone depletion, transcend national borders and require greater collaboration among countries. In addition to collaborative skills, citizens will need to develop "systems thinking"—the ability to see relationships among issues and how they form the "big picture." How does access to health care affect educational opportunities? How do environmental policies differentially affect socio-economic classes? More specifically, how might the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) affect relationships among ethnic groups in the United States? These are the types of questions we need to help our students ask.

In the United States, a striking pattern that will certainly affect the political agenda is the increasing religious and ethnic diversity of our population. Demographers contend that Islam will replace Judaism as the second largest religion in the United States by the year 2000. By the year 2000, it is expected that 48 percent of school-age children will be students of color. Within the next century, non-Hispanic whites of European origin will no longer constitute a majority of the U.S. population (Population Reference Bureau 1986). If our cultural differences are to be a source of strength, citizens will most assuredly require greater skills in communication, perspective-taking, and collaboration. It will be imperative that we (particularly those who are or have been the majority) listen to one another with greater intensity as we confront complex problems.

The formal political landscape is also likely to look very different in the near future—both in terms of actors and agendas. Groups previously denied access to the formal political structure are making their presence felt at the community, state, and national levels. In the 1992 elections, record numbers of women and persons of color were elected to the U.S. Congress. Still, the actual percentage of women (10 percent) and "minorities" (13 percent) is woefully low.

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Recent technological advances herald the "Information Age." Today, global communication networks have the potential to expand the dialogue among greater numbers of people as they address political issues and to provide access to a wider range of data as they contemplate such issues. Technology allowed us to share in the joy of the demise of the Berlin Wall and to participate in the Beijing resistance in the spring of 1989. At the same time, access to information is not readily available to all; further, access alone does not insure reflection or critical analysis. As William Greider notes, "The many new channels of communication created by broadcasting and other technologies ought to have enriched democracy. In practice, the rise of mass media as the dominant venue for political dialogue completed the alienation of citizens from politics" (Greider 1992, p. 307). We need not accept the finality of Greider's assessment, but we do need to be aware of the obstacles in linking technology to a stronger democracy.

There is growing recognition that the "political" extends beyond the formal political structure. Current students of politics acknowledge a broad range of political activities under the rubric of "political participation"—involvement in service clubs, social movements, special-interest groups, and community organizations. One recent edited work, entitled *Political Socialization, Citizenship Education, and Democracy*, includes chapters on environmental understanding, voluntary youth organizations, and gender equality, to name a few (Ichilov 1990).

Given these patterns, we might expect that political involvement today, and increasingly in the future, will require cognizance of the global dimension of many political problems and issues and an ability to see the complex relationships among these issues. Participants will need to work with others whose experiences and perceptions of the world may be very different from their own. Political participation will require greater skills in listening, collaborating, compromising, and negotiating as we strive to find common ground among diverse viewpoints. The ability to deal creatively with conflict will be particularly important when citizens find common understandings elusive. If avenues of political participation are to be more inclusive, we will need to ensure that all participants have access to relevant and timely information. The rapidity with which information is available, as well as the vast quantity of information available, often mitigate against careful deliberation and reflection. Citizens will need skills in accessing and developing meaningful interpretations of massive amounts of data. Finally, we will need to recognize multiple forms of political involvement and to create new avenues of participation as the political sphere changes.

The Traditional Civics Curriculum and Political Participation

Whether by design or neglect, political participation has long been the "invisible" part of citizenship education (Stone 1992). In a review of the literature on civic participation and the social studies, Patrick Ferguson (1991) found that the traditional social studies curriculum has no demonstrable effect on students' participatory attitudes and behaviors. Demands for coverage, fear of community reprisals, and the rigid structure of the school day often mitigate against serious examination of policy issues and sustained engagement in social action projects. To the degree that teachers encourage participation, it is limited to relatively passive, orthodox behaviors such as voting. Political issues, inherently controversial, are often either avoided or approached in a sterile, academic fashion.

Similarly, standard civics textbooks are generally devoid of stimulating, thought-provoking discussions of political issues. In 1987, People for the American Way reviewed 18 U.S. government and civics textbooks. What they found was an appallingly dry, bland portrayal of U.S. political life.

> What is missing, in a word, is controversy. Eighty percent of the civics books and half of the government books minimize conflict and compromise. The dynamic sense of government and politics...is lost. The vitality of political involvement...is neglected....The crucial role of participation is not highlighted....If students are led to believe that the work of democracy is done, that no problems remain unsolved, they will see no need for their involvement. As one reviewer put it, "If there are no injustices to right and no villains to defeat, it is hard to get excited" (People for the American Way 1987, pp. i-ii).

Without exposure to role models involved in a range of political activities, without vigorous discussion of controversial issues, and without a serious examination of alternative courses of public action, students are not likely to envision a more participatory citizenship for themselves.

Educational ideas, practices, and programs currently gaining greater attention could contribute to more meaningful political participation. Calls for greater depth and less coverage in social studies curriculum (Newmann 1990); for a focus on enduring social and political issues (Engle 1989; Engle and Ochoa 1986; Shaver 1992); for the critical teaching of issues related to class, gender, and ethnicity (Bigelow 1990; Giroux 1988; Stanley and Nelson 1986); and for the inclusion of multiple perspectives (Banks and Banks 1992; Pang and Park 1992; Tetreault 1989) lay the framework for the in-depth examination of critical public issues. The focus on multiple perspectives, in particular, recognizes the rich diversity of experiences and understandings citizens bring to public issues discussions. Advocates for the development of a global perspective among citizens (Anderson and Anderson 1977; Kniep 1986) underscore the critical need for an understanding of the cultural, political, and economic interconnections among nations and people. Each

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of these ideas could potentially contribute to a citizenry that has a more complex grasp of today's social and political issues; taken together, they could offer strong support for more active, caring and committed civic participants.

Innovative educational practices could also enhance students' political skills and understandings. Cooperative learning and peer mediation offer students valuable opportunities to develop skills in collaboration, compromise, and negotiation—skills that are central to active political participation. The trend toward performance assessment may encourage educators to reassess the quiescent role of political participation in the civics curriculum. If the primary goal of the civics curriculum is to foster an active citizenry, then we will need to assess students' participation. Clearly, we will first need to provide real opportunities for participation.

In summary, the civics curriculum as presently constructed offers little hope for developing a more active, participatory citizenry. Educational ideas, such as multicultural and global education, may help to foster citizen perspectives critically needed in a more ethnically diverse country and an increasingly interconnected world. Instructional practices, such as cooperative learning and peer mediation, may help to develop skills that are crucial in the political sphere. While each of these changes or innovations may support active, reflective citizen participation, they cannot act as a substitute for it. Further, when we do not draw explicit connections between, for example, the examination of diverse ethnic perspectives and public policy issues, we do little to encourage more reflective citizen involvement.

What, then, might a more direct approach to enhancing political participation look like? In the next section, we examine current educational projects specifically designed to increase students' civic understanding and involvement, and speculate as to the kinds of educational programs and practices that might engage young people in civic and social action to meet the needs of today and tomorrow's political sphere.

Engaging Youth in Meaningful Political Participation

A number of existing programs were specifically designed to encourage thoughtful, active political participation among youth. A special section in *Social Education* on "Participatory Citizenship" (Parker, 1989) described several exemplary programs and curricula for students. For example, the Community Service Corps, a course offered at the John F. Kennedy High School in Plainview, New York, combines community service with in-depth examination of public policy issues. Four days a week, students engage in classroom discussions of political behavior and issues; on the fifth day, students work in a community service project off-campus. Class discussions integrate student experiences with policy issues (Bragaw 1989). This format addresses many educators' concerns about the lack of a forum for reflecting on community service work (Rutter and Newmann 1989).

One relatively new program is Project Public Achievement, an effort designed by Harry Boyte and others at the University of Minnesota's Humphrey Institute to engage young people in identifying and solving political problems in their communities.* For Boyte, civic education "takes place as people learn the politics of public problem-solving, defined as the give-and-take, messy, everyday activity in which citizens set about dealing with the general issues of the public world" (Boyte 1992, p. 3). Politics, by definition, involves conflict, interests, and power relationships. In Project Public Achievement, "coaches" (predominantly university students) work with small groups of secondary students to identify common interests and concerns. Students define a public problem that is particularly meaningful to them, such as teacher-student relationships, homelessness, or environmental waste. Importantly, they "map" the political terrain with respect to power and interests. They collect data relevant to the problem, after which they develop and implement strategies for solving the problem.

Throughout the process, participants engage in listening and talking with persons who may hold views that differ from their own. They come to recognize that conflict is part of public life, and that they can better deal with the conflict by "mapping" the political terrain. They consciously analyze positions, interests, and power relationships. As they develop skills in perspective-taking and data-gathering, they experience firsthand the complexities of public problem-solving.

No single program, however, can provide young people with the experiences they will need for active political participation. One of our problems is that if we provide opportunities for political participation at all, it is limited to one type of involvement. This does not reflect our current conceptualization of political participation—one that embraces a wide range of political activities. Thus, the K-12 curriculum should be planned such that every student is exposed to and has an opportunity for extended participation in at least four types of political activities: community (e.g., instituting a neighborhood recycling program or rehabilitating local parks), service (immediate assistance is provided, e.g., working in a soup kitchen or hospital), advocacy (e.g., boycotting a particular product), and electoral (e.g., voting or running for office) (see also Breuer and Nelson 1992). Students should come into contact with persons who have assumed each of these roles in their communities; special effort should be made to identify women and persons of color who can share their experiences with students. We need to expose students to the various forms of political participation, even those in which they might not choose to engage at this time, because political participation is a lifelong process. For example, while some students may not choose to engage in advocacy politics, it should be among a repertoire of strategies with which they are familiar because it may be appropriate for them at a later point in time. Throughout the educational experience, opportunities to participate in the various types of political activities should be available.

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*For more information about Project Public Achievement, write to Project Public Life, Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota, 301 - 19th Avenue South, Minneapolis, MN 55455.

All student political experiences—whether community, service, advocacy, or electoral—should be carefully planned to take into account the changing nature of the political world. The following guidelines, though not comprehensive, may help educators shape more meaningful political experiences for their students:

1. Political experiences should encourage students to collaborate with others in public problem-solving and to develop skills in compromise and negotiation. Merelman observes that citizens in stable, democratic regimes tend to avoid conflict; he writes that the "marginalization [of conflict] restricts the range of discourse in democratic regimes, disparages the claims of powerless groups who turn to protest out of despair, and reinforces unwarrantedly the power of entrenched elites" (Merelman 1990, p. 61). Any meaningful political or social action has the potential to be conflictual. We need to help students appreciate the value of conflict in a democracy and develop skills to deal with conflict in creative and constructive ways.
2. A range of experiences and perspectives should be sought when engaging in public problem-solving. For example, how do African-American and white European-American views on race relations in the United States differ? How are they similar? To what degree do views differ by age, gender, and class? Through a careful analysis of such perspectives, students can begin to see and feel the interconnections among people and issues.
3. As students engage in political action, they should be helped to develop the tools to analyze power relationships. For example, who has the power to make decisions regarding the disposal of environmental waste? Who is most affected by these decisions? Who has benefited by these decisions in the past? Who has been hurt? Students should begin to recognize the locus of power, as well as when and how shifts in power might occur. Power forms the very basis of politics, yet the dynamics of power are often not addressed in our civic education.
4. Integral to political participation is the process of gathering data. Students should be required to gather data about an issue from a wide range of sources. Two sources in particular—the mainstream media and computer databases—deserve special attention because they are likely to play a greater role in political decision-making in the future. Students should be encouraged to critically analyze the way in which the mainstream media portray the issue they are addressing. For example, whose views on programs to alleviate poverty are presented—government officials, program recipients, or both? Viewpoints from alternative media sources should be examined and contrasted with those presented in the mainstream media. Whenever possible, students should also be encouraged to use and analyze computer databases to inform their political action. What data are available? Who has compiled the data? Why have the data been compiled? What data are missing?
5. Continual reflection about the experiences should be built into the program, much along the lines suggested by Newmann (1989). Reflection should move from personal to societal to global levels. For example, what did my work with the retirement home mean to me? How has society historically cared for the elderly? How have societal attitudes toward the elderly exacerbated the problems the elderly encounter? How do other countries care for the elderly? How is care of the elderly linked to other issues—poverty, health care, violence?

How might such programs be structured? Engle (1989) suggests that students, faculty, and administrators select one issue each year for in-depth examination. All subject areas would be encouraged to address the issue in some way within their classes. The school community could critically examine the issue through video, dramatizations, guest speakers, field trips, panel discussions. Multiple opportunities for students to take some form of social action would be central to the program.

Suppose, for example, a school chose human rights as an issue for yearlong inquiry. One afternoon a month, the school community could participate in a meeting addressing human rights issues. The meeting could take various forms—student dramatizations of human rights issues, panel discussions with advocates for human rights and victims of human rights abuses, or films that portray the significance of human rights. Teachers could be encouraged to address the issue within their specific content areas. For example, art classes could examine the ways in which artistic expression has been stifled for political reasons. Science classes could investigate ways in which groups such as Physicians Without Borders have addressed human rights abuses. Social studies teachers could coordinate a range of opportunities for social and political action (e.g., working in a local food bank, joining an Amnesty International Student Group) and facilitate student discussions and reflections on their experiences.

A program such as this would require serious commitment from all participants. It has the potential, however, to create a deliberative, action-oriented school community that focuses on the significant and enduring issues of our time.

Equally powerful, yet on a smaller scale, students can investigate the political issues within their classrooms. The recent 500th anniversary of Columbus's voyages provided an ideal opportunity for young people to examine how and for whom history is written. Many teachers helped their students analyze the way in which the mainstream media have portrayed Columbus, the various perspectives on Columbus, and the way in which their history books depict the "encounter" with the Tainos and Arawaks. Students in William Bigelow's high school social studies classes in Portland, Oregon, took their inquiry a step further, using it as the basis for political action. They wrote, illustrated, and shared with younger students books they felt gave a more accurate version of the Columbus story (Bigelow 1990). This is strong political advocacy.

We need not wait until the 600th anniversary of Columbus's voyage to foster political reflection and action within the classroom. Censorship, sexism, racism, classism, and educational funding—to name but a few—are all issues that directly affect the learning environment. Data are readily available, as are multiple perspectives. These issues can be investigated, and opportunities for political action can be designed. Such an approach requires teachers and students who are willing to grapple with controversial issues and teachers who are able to draw the connections between political action in the school environment and political action in the wider society.

A third possible type of program for political participation is one that cultivates the talents, ideas, and experiences of groups that have been marginalized in the formal political structure. As we look toward the future, we should consider making special efforts to develop civic leadership skills among females and students of color. Their voices are critically needed within the political sphere.

Research suggests that females and some "minority" groups have special responses to the notion of political involvement. For example, female adolescents tend to support more conventional, community-based participation than do males (Sigel and Hoskin 1981; Torney, Oppenheim, and Farnen 1975). Judith Torney-Purta (1992) suggests that "castelike groups" (Ogbu 1987), such as African Americans, are less likely to be receptive to conventional modes of participation because such behaviors are perceived as "acting white." Not surprisingly, many of these young people make a realistic assessment of the lack of opportunity structures available to them and choose not to participate.

Programs designed for females and students of color could build upon the strengths these groups bring to the political process (e.g., community-based participation, alternative views of the political process). Females in particular need to know the value of community-based participation, but they also need to know that they are grossly underrepresented in other spheres of political life. "Castelike" minority groups deserve to have their assessment of the political structure validated and understood, but they also need to know the consequences of subscribing to nonparticipation. A program specifically designed for females and students of color must locate political involvement within a wider historical and social context, emphasizing the nature of social movements (e.g., the Women's Movement, the American Indian Movement, the Civil Rights Movement), the role of group-based participation, and struggles and triumphs of individual leaders. Role models within the community could share their experiences in the political sphere.

A program such as this would need to address current political inequities in an open and honest manner. The alienation and distrust often expressed by "castelike" groups are based on the grim realities of political life. We cannot change those realities overnight, but we can provide an open and supportive forum in which students can express their views, and we can make special efforts to find opportunities for political participation that will match the needs, interests, and perspectives of these students.

Some may question the wisdom of developing programs specifically for females and students of color. Is it not important for *all* students to examine political inequities? Or for *all* students to see women and people of color in the political sphere? The answer is a resounding "yes." But in 1993, 123 years after the U.S. government recognized the right of African-American males to vote and 73 years after women's suffrage, only 13 percent and 10 percent of the U.S. Congress are persons of color and women, respectively. We need to address this egregious imbalance. If special programs for females and students of color can help (and researchers should work with teachers to document program effects), then we have an obligation to develop them. We can only hope that 50 years hence, such programs will no longer be necessary.

Any program for political participation—whether school-wide, classroom-based, or group-based—matters little if the opportunity structures aren't there. As we move into the 21st century, the globalization of political and economic systems, the increasing ethnic and cultural diversity in the United States, and our rapid advances in technology will either expand the opportunities for more meaningful political participation or increase divisions between those who exercise political power and those who are politically disconnected. For while international trade practices have promoted dialogue among various religious, environmental, and labor organizations, multinational and transnational corporations have increasingly removed decisions from a democratic forum (Greider 1992). The first African-American female entered the U.S. Senate in January 1993, yet voter turnout among African Americans in 1992 decreased by 13 percent from the previous presidential election ("The Voters" 1992). While technological advances allowed us to send information to students in Beijing in the spring of 1989, the ethnic disparities in access to computer technology in U.S. classrooms continue to widen (Becker and Sterling 1987).

These trends demand citizens who are willing to be active participants in the ongoing struggle for a democratic society. As social studies educators, we have long neglected the most important part of citizenship—participation. It is time to bring participation to the forefront.

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Chapter 8

TEACHING TOWARD A GLOBAL FUTURE AND THE FUTURE OF GLOBAL TEACHING

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Two West African proverbs set the scene for a discussion of global education in the future. The proverbs can be interpreted to express the rewards and the risks of encounters with culturally different people.

The first is a common proverb often used to illustrate the value of cross-cultural perspectives: "The person who has not visited another village will think only Mother's cooking is sweet." Other proverbs with similar meanings, also from West Africa, are "The world is like a Mask dancing. You cannot see it well if you only stand in one place" and "Looking in one direction makes your neck stiff" (d'Almeida 1982, p, 194). A proverb that seems cautionary on cross-cultural experience comes from the novel *The Scarlet Song*, by the Senegalese writer Mariama Ba: "If one abandons one's hill, any hill which one climbs will crumble." The novel is the story of the ultimately unhappy marriage of a Senegalese Muslim man and a French Christian woman (d'Almeida 1992, 184).

In the world of the 1990s and the soon-to-come 21st century, we are likely to have increasingly close encounters with others who are different in race/ethnicity/nationality, as well as gender and class. Although we live in "a McWorld, tied together by technology, ecology, communications, and commerce," we also live in a world threatened by "a Jihad in the name of a hundred narrowly conceived faiths against every kind of interdependence, every kind of artificial social cooperation and civic mutuality" (Barber 1992, p. 53). How we dare to be open-minded to other cultures, to see the world from a global perspective, and how we choose to create a self and/or group identity are already and will continue to be challenges.

Although this chapter focuses on how teachers can obtain and utilize a global perspective, helping their students to visit other villages, stand in many places, look in many directions, teachers also need to be comfortable with and understand themselves and to respect and try to understand their students' identities and struggles for identity. Optimists see persons acting as global citizens, able to think globally and act locally on environmental issues, for instance, while pessimists note that crosses are still occasionally burned on the front lawns of African-Americans who live in white neighborhoods and remind us of "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia. However, the small "we" of Flanders does become the "we" of Belgium and then the "we" of the European Community, and the Flemish primary school book entitled "Water" shows people in Pakistan and Ethiopia, as well as in Belgium, using water, broadening the "we" to the world. Can social studies teachers model the possibility of such overlapping, outstretching loyalties?

How we get to the broader "we" depends on understanding that none of us is a pure product. Cleveland, in *Birth of a New World* (1993), quotes Magda McHale that each of us is a "slowly changing kaleidoscope of identities in a changing landscape of influences and circumstances" (p. 27), a hopeful view for educators. We also need to understand that the world history we teach, particularly that of the past 500 years, is, as Said points out in *Culture and Imperialism* (1993), a matter of interdependent histories and overlapping domains. So the narratives (Said's examples are literary) we use must include those by colonialists (Joseph Conrad *and* Jane Austen) and by colonized (Chinua Achebe *and* W. B. Yeats), all read and situated in the context of imperialism and resistance. In global education language, this is a plea for multiple perspectives, but Said also makes a very strong case for "thinking of local identity as not exhaustive," so there will be the "possibility of discovering a world not constructed out of warring essences" (p. 229). "Survival in fact is about the connections between things; in Eliot's phrase, reality cannot be deprived of the 'other echoes [that] inhabit the garden.' It is more rewarding—and more difficult—to think concretely and sympathetically, contrapuntally, about others than only about 'us'" (p. 336).

Teaching toward a global future, then—and there is no choice but to do so because that is where our students will live—requires teachers who will teach toward openmindedness. To do that, teachers require a global perspective that includes substantive knowledge and perceptual understanding and demonstrates personal growth and an ability to develop interpersonal connections across cultures.

Evidence indicates that persons who have had international experiences—have visited other villages and even climbed down their own hills or learned to stand with feet on two hills—change. They gain a global perspective substantively and perceptually, grow personally, and develop interpersonal connections (Wilson 1993b). However, international experience need not be the only road to these outcomes, which should be valued for *all* teachers.

The first section of this paper outlines appropriate preparation for teachers of K-12 social studies so they can teach toward a global future. The second section describes a teacher who graduated from a program that emphasized a global perspective and who continued to learn through other experiences, including international experience, to become an exemplar of global teaching.

Teacher Preparation for Teaching Toward a Global Future

Substantive Knowledge. One definition of a global perspective delineates two parts: knowledge and perceptual understanding (Case 1991). A knowledge base is critical for teachers, beginning with what is going on where in the world, the locations of places on a world map and a familiarity with current events. (Some social studies methods instructors even admit to giving map and current events quizzes.) Future teachers need a broad historical background (the Roman Empire and the Mali Empire), an understanding of interconnections (such as those between culture and imperialism, the title of Said's book), an introduction to global issues (managing and resolving conflict, for instance), and thoughtfulness about human values (equity is an important one). This list of kinds of knowledge draws on lists made by Case, as well as Hanvey (1976) and Kniep (1986).

How will future teachers gain this substantive knowledge? A primary way will be through carefully chosen coursework. Future teachers should not take just any social science or humanities or fine arts course, but should be guided to choose courses such as World Politics in political science, Comparative Economic Systems in economics, Major Black Writers in English, Music of the World in music, Arab-Israeli Conflict in history, and the interdisciplinary Introduction to Latin American Studies. Although an understanding of U.S. history, government, and literature is obviously basic, all students do have an introduction to American studies in high school and, unless encouraged to do otherwise, many teacher education students find it easiest to concentrate on the familiar American studies again in college to the exclusion of courses about the rest of the world.

Some colleges and universities have general studies requirements for cross-cultural coursework. Some certification programs require one so-called non-Western course. A better option for teacher education students expecting to teach social studies is considering their total program of coursework and planning to take—overall, across history, the social sciences, and humanities and arts classes—courses that will prepare them to teach knowledgeably about the *whole* world. That may mean a course in geography of the African continent, in history of Latin America, in political science on European governments, in anthropology on India, plus art history and a comparative philosophy or religions class and other more general courses with a global perspective. It would be ideal if future teachers, and other students, could take a series of interdisciplinary world studies courses that raised important questions and offered a variety of ways to consider the world, for example, as an interactive global system or as a mosaic of different cultures.

The social studies methods class is an important opportunity to add to the knowledge of future social studies teachers, as well as to demonstrate pedagogy. Methods have to be taught with some content—why not choose content that enlarges the knowledge of future teachers about the world? One possibility is for the methods professor to use a world issues topic, such as ending hunger, interdependence, or management of international conflict, for a model or demonstration unit. Such a unit can illustrate how to treat a topic in an interdisciplinary way and how to utilize a variety of materials and teaching techniques, as well as present new knowledge. Sometimes a book may be used as one "text"; for instance, John Maxwell Hamilton's *Entangling Alliances* (1990) introduces the concept of interdependence and its complexities through three case studies about the Philippines, Costa Rica, and Kenya. If a methods professor is illustrating how to use literature in social studies class, asking students to read a short novel or two by authors from other countries can be educative. An example of a short African novel that teaches about marriage, children, and the differences and commonalities of women's dreams and lives is Mariama Ba's *So Long a Letter* (1981), which is about a Muslim woman in Senegal. Finally, methods professors can give sample assignments and require community and/or school-related projects. A research assignment could involve discovering global connections of the local community or comparing nations on five different indicators and analyzing the results. Examples of community and/or school-related projects are organizing a university student or community forum on a world issue or working with middle or secondary students on a mock United Nations meeting.

Perceptual Understanding. The second part of a global perspective—perceptual understanding—includes open-mindedness, anticipation of complexity, resistance to stereotyping, inclination to empathize, and non-chauvinism (Case 1991). Perceptual understanding should also encompass consciousness of one's own perspective, realization that it is not the only perspective, and general cross-cultural awareness of differences (Hanvey 1976).

Although coursework about world religions, for example, may reduce the tendency to stereotype Muslims or Hindus, often more than knowledge is required to gain perceptual understanding. A person living in Fiji in the South Pacific may know intellectually that private property is less important to communally minded Fijians than to individualistic Americans, but may nevertheless be surprised when her special gift to a Fijian is passed on to another Fijian because the latter person admired it.

Future social studies teachers need experiences to gain the values and attitudes that make up perceptual understanding. Examples of such experiences that could be provided through a methods class include cross-cultural simulations such as *Barnga*, a simple card tournament illustrating how cultural differences affect us (Thiagarajan 1990). Stories and role playing can also be effective. A very short story, "The Green Banana," makes the point in an especially memorable way that each group of people feels they live "at the center of the earth" (Batchelder and Warner 1977), an illustration of the importance of understanding identity, as well. Reading about a woman in another culture and then role playing that person at a reception for "Women of the World" forces students to take on briefly the persona of black women in South Africa and poor women in Brazil. Even better than role playing is talking with and actually getting to know someone from another culture.

Personal Growth. Substantive knowledge and perceptual understanding overlap to some degree as dimensions of gaining a global perspective, because one needs both knowledge about practices in another country and understanding from an insider point of view. Personal growth and interpersonal connections, under the category of developing self and relationships, also overlap with each other and with gaining a global perspective.

Kauffmann, Martin, and Weaver (1992) illustrate this overlapping in their model for understanding the study-abroad international experience. They suggest that growth in cognition goes hand in hand with growth in other aspects of personality as the student interacts with a new environment. In study abroad, they explain, the student moves from equilibrium through disequilibrium toward a new equilibrium. In their developmental "education as change" model, cognition, autonomy, belonging, values, vocation, and world view are the variables that mediate the interaction of the student and the environment of the international experience.

Field/student teaching/intern experiences are a developmental process for teachers. Student teachers often begin that experience with trepidation (and usually go through disequilibrium), but they usually gain self-confidence and independence—related to autonomy—and come to firmer decisions about whether teaching will be their chosen vocation. If the school experiences are "different" for the teacher-to-be—for example, if a white student from rural Kentucky does student teaching with an African-American teacher who teaches World Civilization and African-American Heritage courses in an ethnically diverse urban school—then the student's prior values and world view may be challenged. That white rural student may, in fact, begin to gain what can be called global multicultural perspective.

Bennett's model of a global multicultural perspective brings together nicely what sometimes seem to be oppositional (one for inside our nation and one for the rest of the world) perspectives but are really complementary. Bennett begins with core values of "responsibility to a world community, reverence for the earth, acceptance and appreciation of cultural diversity, and respect for human dignity and universal human rights." She then lists the following goals: to develop multiple historical perspectives; to strengthen cultural consciousness; to strengthen intercultural competence; to combat racism, prejudice, and discrimination; to increase awareness of the state of the planet and global dynamics; and to build social action skills (Bennett 1990, p. 282). Such goals should sound somewhat familiar. For example, a teacher with a broad historical background will recognize a number of perspectives on the encounter of Europe and Africa with the "Americas." Strengthening cultural consciousness relates to learning about one's own identity. Increasing awareness of the state of the planet and global dynamics was discussed earlier under knowledge. Combatting racism, prejudice, and discrimination and building social action skills both assume a transformational goal for the social studies curriculum; this goal might be stated as "working toward a better world." Finally, strengthening intercultural competence is one result of interpersonal connections, the last aspect of a global perspective, explained next.

Interpersonal Connections. The research of Sharma and Jung (1986) suggests that cross-cultural interaction between U.S. and international students is significantly related to acceptance of cultural pluralism, support of internationalism, a cosmopolitan world outlook, and worldmindedness, all concepts that can be related to the perceptual part of a global perspective and can be gained through interpersonal connections.

As part of a teacher education program, students may have the option or be required to become a conversation partner or amigo for students with limited English speaking ability. Stohl's research (1986) on Purdue University's A.M.I.G.O. Project, in which communications students were paired with ESL students, showed that American students became more accepting of diversity, felt greater responsiblity to foreign visitors, and developed a sense of the importance of and a desire for traveling abroad. Teacher education students in the University of Kentucky Conversation Partner Program gained perceptual understanding, as well as substantive knowledge, through this interpersonal connection. One student wrote: "Grace from Taiwan has taught me to look at many things in my everyday life in a new light. I too readily accepted everything as the way it was and did not think to understand life's whys. Her questions and differences in experiences have enabled me to grasp what it is that makes up my country, what makes up my family, and what makes up me. I believe I am now less judgmental, more open-minded, and very accepting" (Wilson 1993a).

Teacher education students can make interpersonal connections in many other ways. They can become involved in cultural diversity programming on campus, such as cross-cultural weekends and African-American cultural center programs. They can offer extra tutoring to children in ESL programs in local schools or plan a special project to work with them in creating a calendar of holidays around the world for the school system. They can participate in a Buddy Program for newly arrived immigrant students or design a world issues forum for high school exchange students.

Teachers in the schools can find opportunities for making interpersonal connections, too. University and community hospitality programs for international students are eager for hosts. International Student Speaker/Classroom Programs that link international students at universities with classroom teachers can be an opportunity for both children and teachers (Wilson 1992). For example, three elementary teachers from a rural Kentucky school were encouraged by their principal to apply for the University of Kentucky International Classroom program, which matched them with international students who made three visits to their classrooms over the semester. After the required inservice workshop, which consisted of a cross-cultural activity, an extensive planning session with their international students, and an international meal, the teachers explained they had never before talked with a person from another country or eaten foreign food. Both they and their students were learners.

Making interpersonal connections is more difficult than learning about another culture from a book or even from travel. It is clearly scarier to actually climb down one's hill and begin walking up another's; however, climbing down doesn't have to mean abandoning. As Mikail Gorbachev said to George Kennan in 1987: "We in our country believe that a man may be a friend of another country and remain, at the same time, a loyal and devoted citizen of his own; and that is the way we view you" (Kennan 1989, p. 351). In Kennan's view: "To understand things beyond one's original cultural horizon is only to add them, in a sense, to what one already is. To do this does not mean that what one already is becomes discarded" (Kennan 1989, p. 363).

Another illustration of the difficulty of climbing down one's hill is the fact that although teachers who have been short-term international sojourners on study tours responded very positively to a survey statement that "understanding of other people comes through interaction between people," only slightly more than a fifth actually gave examples of interacting with people of different cultural backgrounds after their return from study tours (Wilson 1984). The impact of their international experience was much clearer in gains in substantive knowledge. Thus, the opportunities for interpersonal interaction remain a challenge for both preservice and inservice teachers.

One Exemplar of Global Teaching

One global educator, who started on her global perspective as an undergraduate and has added to it since, is Debbie Powers. She teaches social studies—World Geography, World Civilization until 1500, U. S. History, and Global Issues—to grades 6, 7, 8, and 9 in a small K-9 school just outside Louisville, Kentucky.

Debbie's room is comfortably cluttered with the artifacts of teaching and learning about the world. Snake and foliage remnants from a tropical rainforest project, as well as flags from Egypt, Japan, and several other countries, hang from the exposed pipes. On the walls are posters and pictures, from a world ocean map to the Preamble to the Constitution to Tutankhamen. The bulletin boards display maps of the 13 colonies made by the eighth-graders, names and pictures of the cabinet members, and current events newspaper clippings. A Russian calendar towel is tacked above an exhibit of books and postcards and three photo albums from Debbie's summer 1992 trip to Russia. The furniture includes an old couch covered with a U.S. Bicentennial quilt, a globe, bookcases with books spilling out, a long row of cabinets, an overhead projector, television, and computer, plus tables, chairs, and teacher's desk.

In this classroom, Debbie teaches her students the substantive knowledge of global education. She believes her job is preparing citizens for the global community, citizens who can communicate across the street and across the globe. "We're not isolated," she says. "I can call Julia in St. Petersburg this afternoon—and she will be here next fall." Julia is a teacher Debbie met in Russia. She has talked to Julia on the telephone several times, and Debbie's students have raised $700 to help

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bring Julia to the United States for three months to teach art to young children.

Debbie graduated from a teacher education program that emphasized a global perspective in the range of classes required and in the methods course. She did student teaching with a supervising teacher who taught the ninth-grade law and justice course with a global perspective. Still, Debbie regrets that in college history and political science classes "no one painted a picture, wove together threads, asked what would have happened if. . . and I was just concerned about the exam on November 17." Since graduating, she has learned about global interconnections and global issues by reading, researching, and participating, for instance, as a member of Amnesty International and of the Rainforest Action Network. She has used Oxfam materials to teach about world hunger and gotten subcommittee hearing notes on international human rights from her Senator. She recently participated in a U.S. Institute of Peace funded project, led by her undergraduate methods instructor, to develop curriculum modules on managing international conflict.

As a teacher, Debbie makes constant connections between then and now, here and there. Teaching the Roman Republic to 25 wiggly, talkative seventh-graders, for example, she reviews geography; does quick comparative flow charts on governance in the school, the United States, Russia, and Great Britain; and then moves to the consuls of Rome, patricians and plebians, and the Twelve Tables of Law. The final brief activity organizes small groups of students (as plebians) to present their ideas for school rule changes to her (as consul). Debbie regularly challenges her students to do long-term projects, too. Her ninth-grade Global Issues class established Students Acting for Global Awareness (SAGA), which produces a newsletter, sponsors a geography literacy program for the school in conjunction with the National Geography Bee, and runs SAGA Recyling, a curbside recycling project. The students constructed a walk-through tropical rainforest exhibit several years ago and in 1992-93 used a calendarmaker software program to create an international calendar.

Debbie's aims include doing away with prejudice and teaching tolerance and appreciation of cultures. Her ninth-graders read *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman*, *Night*, and *My Enemy, My Friend* for a literature-based unit on prejudice. She points out that the pictures she took of ordinary Russians and classroom guests from the Middle East have helped break down walls by introducing her students to real people from other cultures, but she believes that much of her teaching toward open-mindedness and the other characteristics of perceptual understanding is by example. "I went to Russia, and the kids see that. Also I insist on a people-safe environment in this classroom which means, among other things, no ethnic jokes." Debbie explains that she became determined to teach in a way that "included" people by being exposed to teachers who did not. College courses in women's history and African-American history were important in leading her to teach from a variety of perspectives.

Debbie is very enthusiastic about the impact of her first trip to Russia on herself and on her students. The experience "profoundly changed me. It put my own problems into perspective. When I'm eating I think about Olga and if she has had enough to eat. I talk to my students about the unfulfilled basic needs of people in Russia and Hungary. Most of them are only worried about getting a new pair of tennis shoes." The ninth-grade class voted to give the money that they had raised for a class trip to Julia to support her trip to the United States. Debbie points out that just as she grew personally from the Russian experience, she is helping students to expand their horizons and concerns, too.

Organizing interpersonal connections are Debbie's particular strength. Although her first trip to Russia—taking 30 high school students to visit seven cities with the People to People Ambassador Program—was a critically important experience for her own growth, Debbie's students and school have also benefited. With the vice-principal of School #10 in Ivanovo, Russia, Debbie arranged an exchange of student artwork. A $3000 grant from the Louisville Foundation bought a computer and art supplies for the project. Fifth-graders constructed a large "Class Important Book," each writing and illustrating a page entitled "What's important about me." Third-grade classes illustrated favorite fairy tales and made a friendship quilt. Debbie took the quilt when she led a group of students from the southeastern United States to the 1993 Youth Summit in Russia, her second trip to Russia.

Through Video Pals, Debbie's students are connected with two schools in Russia, one in Hungary, one in South Africa, and one in Denmark. Each seventh-, eighth-, and ninth-grader has been assigned four or five pen pals. The students send picture packets to their pen pals, and they are producing a two-hour video on their home city and state to send to the schools.

Through Worldwise Schools, Debbie's classes are paired with a Peace Corps volunteer in Mali who has written them several letters about his experiences. The class sent him a valentine at Christmas so it would arrive in February, as well as audiotapes of the NCAA basketball tournament (Kentuckians are serious basketball fans).

Finally, Debbie's interest inventory sheets, which both students and parents fill out, have yielded some excellent speakers. One mother, for example, talked about her experiences as a newspaper photographer in the Persian Gulf War.

One result of these interpersonal connections, says Debbie, is that students seem more interested in the news, especially if the news relates to their contacts around the globe. Because of their knowledge and their access to varied perspectives, they have also begun to question the validity of sources of news.

Conclusion

Teaching toward a global future *is* possible, but the future of global teaching is not assured. For example, a curriculum proposal featured in *Horace's School* is entitled "American Experience in the World"; in this curriculum, "study of matters far from our shores will proceed, but in the context of their relation to the American experience—our 'multiculturalism' against a global framework" (Sizer 1992, p. 155). That conceptualization seems rather narrow and could take us back to looking at "them" always in contrast to "us," instead of looking for the overlapping that Said emphasizes.

For the future of global teaching to be assured, teacher education programs will have to offer opportunities for preservice students to begin to gain substantive knowledge, increase their perceptual understanding, grow personally, and develop interpersonal connections. School systems will have to encourage teachers to get international experience through travel and exchange and to bring home new facts and artifacts and new understanding and connections. Social studies educators will have to exert leadership in creatively and carefully designing curricula that invite students to discover, celebrate, critique, and act in the world.

The future world will demand citizens who are comfortable visiting other villages and who can add broader loyalties to their original loyalty to one hill. More Debbies will be needed to teach the young people who will be those citizens, linking them through letters, artwork, videos, and other technology with young people in other countries, who will also be citizens of the future world. Social studies education for teachers and for their students will require a global compass and a global campus.

A writer who tells stories about his Iranian childhood through the lens of his adulthood in the United States says it well:

> We have arrived at an age where our voices and images carry across the planet riding on beams of light. Today, the touch of the remotest human is no further away than tomorrow, and as nations draw closer, so do their weapons and their wastes. Try as we may, how much longer can we maintain the illusion of separateness? It is time to believe that humans are, once again, one community. The bonds of compassion that held us together as a tribe are calling to be reestablished so they can hold us together as a world (Siletz 1992, p. ix).

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A SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULUM FOR THE FUTURE "WITH MALICE TOWARD NONE"...?

by
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Predictions of the future are usually based on the assumption that things change. In education, particularly in social studies, one could argue that things don't or haven't changed, at least in the curriculum. Thus, one is left with two pathways when assessing the future of the social studies curriculum. One is that it will remain relatively static, with little change occurring in the next 10 or 20 years.

The second option is that the curriculum will change in a dramatic way. Change may be in one of *two* general directions, if the past is any guide. The first is that the curriculum will go backwards; that is, it will return to a "model" already tried and abandoned, a pendular swing. Schwab (1969) has called this "perseveration, a repetition of old and familiar knowledge in new languages" (p. 4). Social studies has had no "lockhold" on this type of "change." All curriculum areas have practiced it with equal fervor, often blithely unaware of such previous incarnations.

The second possibility for change is development of something new, in whole or in large part. For this essay, such change would be a new concept or practice in the social studies curriculum. Much of this type of change depends upon things like advances in knowledge regarding learning, advances in technology, the availability and competence of well-trained teachers, the public perception of the field, the politics of education, and changes in society, just to name the most obvious factors.

In viewing curriculum historically, the smart money would bet on the static (what Schwab called the moribund) curriculum. To accept that would both indicate pessimism and make for a very short essay. Predicting the future implies, by its very nature, at least guarded optimism; there *is* a future. Thus, this essay will promise change in light of previous occurrences in the social studies curriculum.

Historical Background to the Curriculum

Social studies was forged in a crucible of criticism, criticism that often was disparaging of the field's very existence. Such a view has been revisited in the late 1980s and early 1990s, although the reasons for this view may be new ones.

What "changed" social studies, and to what extent, since the field's bid for popular acceptance starting in the period 1916-1930? During that period, a number of factors affected the social studies curriculum. First was the great number of immigrants entering the United States, mostly from southern and eastern Europe. By 1930 this flow would significantly abate. Nevertheless, during the period in question, the school curriculum was assigned the dual purpose of socializing and democratizing these immigrants. These functions are separated because they were often in opposition to one another. Schools were to (and still do) teach *about* democracy in the United States, not necessarily model or demonstrate the concept. The logistics of crowded classrooms, crowded schools, limited knowledge of teachers, and a need for control on the part of school authorities (teachers and administrators) made democracy a concept to be discussed but not practiced. Those in power wanted those out of power to learn their place; school, intentionally or not, has done that.

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*I am indebted to Henry Giroux for his insightful comments on earlier drafts of this essay.

The newness of the field of social studies also affected the curriculum. Traditions were not yet fully developed or entrenched. Two major reports had delineated social studies offerings—the Committee of Seven of the American Historical Association (1899) and the NEA Committee on the Social Studies of 1916. By 1920 about two-thirds of the junior and senior high schools in the United States were following one of the two reports' recommendations, with about one-third doing a combination of both or "something else" (Briggs 1920). By 1930 the latter third was moving closer to the NEA recommendations.

The elementary social studies curriculum was not established until around 1920. History and geography were taught in elementary grades. The notion of expanding horizons was brought from Germany by American Herbartians,* particularly Charles and Frank McMurry and Charles DeGarmo, who had studied abroad. By 1920 it had become embedded in the elementary school along with social studies (see LeRiche 1974, 1987; Akenson 1987).

The emergence of the field of child psychology encouraged educators to produce a curriculum that appeared to be psychologically appropriate. Thus, both broadening knowledge and professional input of educators and social scientists shaped the future of the curriculum.

Another influencing factor was the combined technological/entrepreneurial spirit that created the first national textbook series and materials. Harold Rugg's social science pamphlets of the 1920s (and the textbook series of the 1930s) opened the door for the flood of textbook series that followed (Nelson 1977). These, at first, set a national direction; as they remained static, so did the social studies curriculum.

During the period from 1930 to 1940, the social studies curriculum (and the school curriculum generally) became more experimental in some progressive schools (see, for example, Baxter and Young 1933; Newman 1961), but remained largely unchanged in most American schools. The biggest catalyst for significant "change" was the Depression. Many saw the schools as a place to reexamine and reinvent American society, since it seemed to have failed in its responsibility to most of its citizens. The future of the curriculum was largely a function of social forces. In 1939, the National Council for the Social Studies published *The Future of the Social Studies*, edited by James Michener and containing 15 chapters by the most well-known social studies educators of that era. Despite the title, most of the contributors focused on curriculum and, more specifically, scope and sequence. In his introduction (which is reprinted on pages 3-7 of this text), James Michener noted that each author had been invited to state briefly his conception of what the social studies course of study should be in the immediate future (Michener 1939, p. 1). He then went on to note some problems that still apply today.

First was the question of social studies as a course or a collection of classes. In determining any curriculum future for social studies, Michener believed that a K-12 model for each educational entity was clearly needed. Such a model would be open enough to allow for individual teacher shaping (Michener 1939, p. 4).

Michener considered the possibility that social studies might be subsumed into a core curriculum and that in "typical schools of the future there will be no social studies department" (p. 5). That question has indeed arisen of late, but for a different reason—the balkanization of social studies by various factions representing history, geography, economics, and so on. These disputes characterized social studies in the period from 1920 to 1935, until the American Historical Association agreed that social studies was superior to the notion of history and an excessively history-centered curriculum. The support for the future of the social studies, then, may lie in the strength of arguments from the past.

Regarding content, Michener raised the questions of the "problems approach, particularly the problem facing young people, the place of youth in American life" (p. 5).

Since 1939 the social studies curriculum has been influenced by various external forces. World War II caused the curriculum to reflect two views. One view reflected traditional values but was responsive to the needs of the war. The second was more farsighted—the preparation for a new world following the Allied victory. The former became dominant after the war, as the period from 1947 to 1965 was one of "America first" and the curriculum was generally static.

The effects of the 1957 Sputnik launch on the social studies curriculum were not seen until the mid-1960s, when the New Social Studies curriculum projects were launched. This "new" curriculum was most influenced by "outsiders," social scientists who saw a tradition-driven, discipline-based curriculum as superior. The materials were "cutting edge" social science, but the various projects made little attempt at "interdisciplinariness," with a few notable exceptions (e.g., Man: A Course of Study [MACOS]).

The New Social Studies helped to trigger a backlash of responses, ranging from emphasis on competencies on the one hand to provision of mini-courses on the other. The field was adrift not because it chose to be, but because vision and leadership were lacking. Into this vacuum came the new traditionalists calling for basics: Western civilization, American history, and geography. Their didactic approach to curriculum fostered a closing

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*Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841) advocated an integrated school curriculum and a scientific approach to the study of any curricular material; this approach included five formal steps.

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of ranks in the field in order to stand behind social studies.

Directions for the Future

What, then, does the future portend for the social studies curriculum? Since curriculum is not merely content, but how that content is delivered, these shall be dealt with together.

First, some content will be viewed as "superior." James Leming recently noted:

> Whether citizens vote or not is not a function of schooling. What, then, does this leave for the social studies? In a word, knowledge. The development of an accurate knowledge of our American history, our traditions and the social world, should be the superordinate goal of social studies instruction (Leming, 1992, p. 310).

Leming's conclusion seems clear, but it can be interpreted by ideological opposites as fodder for their agendas. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., who derided multiculturalism and championed "Western heritage" in *The Disuniting of America* (1991) could accept Leming's call as consonant with Schlesinger's belief. On the other hand, those who propose a broader based multiculturalism might also accept Leming's call, since he notes the need for an *accurate* knowledge of American history and traditions. Surely, accuracy does not mean selective inclusion of only Western European canons.

The curricular battle is about power and justice, and I am hopeful that multiculturalism will be an accepted principle of the social studies curriculum of the future. A multicultural curriculum must do more, however, than appease subordinate groups. This fractionated curriculum is the "straw man" that critics like to knock down in their justification for the traditional curriculum. Giroux notes that, "a critical multiculturalism must shift attention away from an exclusive focus on subordinate groups, especially since such an approach tends to highlight their deficits, to one which examines how racism in its various forms is produced historically, semiotically, and institutionally at various levels of society" (Giroux 1992, p. 3).

The issue to Giroux is this relationship between knowledge and power. How can multiculturalism lead to more democratic lives, and what conditions will then enhance democratic life as a cultural lived experience? How this question is answered will determine the integrated acceptance of multiculturalism and the democratic principle of shared power.

At one time during the early 1970s, I believed that the multicultural curriculum in social studies was rapidly becoming a fait accompli. I was dead wrong. Whatever gains had been made in that direction were eroded, then destroyed, by the reactionary response of the administrations of Presidents Reagan and Bush, lavishly supported by conservative groups like the Heritage, Olin, and Bradley Foundations. Since 1980, however, the need for a multicultural curriculum has increased. The decade of the 1980s saw the largest ten-year census increase in immigration in our nation's history. Unlike the immigrants of 80 to 100 years ago, these immigrants are overwhelmingly Asian, Latin American, and Caribbean. Western tradition, as taught in most American history classrooms, has essentially been limited to the traditions of France, Germany, and England. Although it must be acknowledged that these countries provided more immigrants and subsequent influence on the shaping of American culture than other countries, they should not have an exclusive hold on curricular content.

Consider these data:

- Texas is now nearly 50 percent Hispanic.
- In one Los Angeles high school alone, 85 languages are spoken.
- Los Angeles now has the largest number of Koreans outside Korea, Cambodians outside Cambodia, Salvadorans outside El Salvador, Burmese outside Burma, Filipinos outside the Philippines, and Mexicans outside Mexico.
- Vietnamese were the fastest growing ethnic group in the 1980s (up 135 percent).
- The dropout rate for Hispanics is over 40 percent, for Puerto Rican Hispanics over 50 percent.
- The infant mortality rate per 1,000 live births for whites in the United States is 10, that of blacks 18.0; the latter figure is worse than the rate of some Third World nations.
- The Asian population in the United States increased at a rate seven times faster than the general population in the period 1980-90.
- A recent National Opinion Research Center (NORC) poll found that 78 percent of surveyed whites felt blacks were more likely than whites to "prefer to live off welfare"; 62 percent said blacks were more likely than whites to be lazy.
- In 1986, the poorest fifth of the population had 5.2 percent of the income in the United States, the wealthiest fifth 41.5 percent. By 1990, that gap had grown; the poor had 4.9 percent of the income, the wealthy 43 percent.

The school, in particular social studies, will address these issues in the curriculum of the future. A greater balance between Eastern and Western cultures, between American and non-American study will be struck. Witness as an indicator of this trend the curricular change at Stanford University, where a non-Western civilizations course is a new option for the general education of Stanford's undergraduates; note also the curriculum recommendations of the National Commission on Social Studies, seeking a greater balance of American and non-American content.

President Clinton's election should result in the removal from power of the conservative traditionalists like Diane Ravitch, Paul Gagnon, Charlotte Crabtree (and the

Center for History in the Schools), Francie Alexander, and Lynn Cheney. Unfortunately, because of lack of funding, attention, or understanding, the Clinton agenda has changed only slightly. The venom is gone, but the same panacea—the remains of the National Governors' Conference on Education (i.e., national standards and their hoped-for amelioration)—is still intact.

A New Curricular Focus

The curriculum will finally divorce itself from the expanding horizons model for elementary schools. What will arise in its place?

First will be a broader curriculum. The United States has had a quasi national curriculum for decades; before that, schools sought to follow advice from one of a few national committees. The new curriculum should embrace a wider scope and should be much more locally influenced and less textbook driven. National committees envisioned a reduced dependence upon one textbook in classroom study. With notable exceptions, this has not occurred. The greater concern for depth of understanding and "postholing" in the curriculum may finally mean a lessening of textbook determination of content. Sizer's Reinventing Schools initiatives chronicled in *Horace's School* (1992) have provided legitimacy to such ideas, which had formerly been seen by some as the notion of out-of-touch academics.

Textbooks, then, may become supplemental reading for a course. This approach would not be new, having been the case with the Rugg textbooks in the 1920s and 1930s, but it would "break the mold" established over the past 40 years. Publishers have reflected demands of schools, not vice versa. If the latter demands change, the former will produce literature-based materials (already beginning at the elementary level in response to the growing whole language movement) and reproduce works of nonfiction in abridged or unabridged forms to complement the curricular ideas.

Rather than expanding horizons at the elementary level and the concentric circles of secondary education, the curriculum will move along a number of pathways driven by a combination of historical tradition, contemporary issues, and multicultural concerns. Though the curriculum may not be problem-centered, as such, there will be at least one or two pervasive themes.

The first and most compelling of these themes is racism. Since our nation's founding, this issue has remained an unsolved conundrum. Though not ever explicitly mentioned in the Constitution, the issue of slavery was one of the major concerns and compromises of the founders. Article I, Section 9 spoke to the slave trade; Article I, Section 2 determined population for allocation of delegates (and reduced blacks and Native Americans to less-than-human noncitizens); Article IV, Section 2 again referred to slavery without naming it.

Throughout our history, the problem of race discrimination and social injustice has continued to reemerge because it has never been solved. The issue has generally been addressed in response to insurrections, riots, or protests by disenfranchised, abused, victimized African Americans. The attention to the "race problem" by society and the concomitant messenger, the schools, was almost always reactive and limited. The problem was reduced in scope and goals by politicians and "solved" in those reduced terms.

The uprisings in Los Angeles and other cities in 1992 indicate that those solutions were cosmetic at best. Even in times of apparent racial calm, the underlying theme of racism must be addressed, at all grade levels, in some integrative manner. This does not mean that schools will abandon American history or economics for the study of racism. Rather, it means that whatever is studied will incorporate a study of the pervasiveness of racism in America and/or worldwide.

The objective cannot be to allocate blame, foster guilt, or promote inferiority between or among students. That type of volatile, substanceless goal opens the school to criticism of social engineering and a lack of content. Critics have demanded that school curriculum in social studies be more rigorous, by providing, for example, more history. Certainly racism and discrimination are a part of our history, an ugly part, but a part that explains, in part, things like slavery, laws forbidding blacks to read, laws forbidding Mexican Americans from speaking Spanish in school, the internment of Japanese Americans in World War II, the Oklahoma Land Rush, the segregation of American Major League Baseball, school desegregation and busing laws, the existence of "Chinatowns" in large cities, why the poor are disproportionately black and Hispanic, why 25 percent of black male youths end up in prison.

Wringing one's hands in anguish or washing one's hands of guilt is easy. The new curriculum wants neither. Rather what is sought is a cooperative effort to solve what Harold Rugg referred to as "The American Problem" in 1939, that is "To bring forth on this continent—in some form of cooperative commonwealth—the civilization of abundance, democratic behavior, and integrity of expression and appreciation which is now potentially available" (Rugg 1939, p. 141).

In addition to racism, the theme of justice must also be omnipresent. During the Reagan-Bush administrations, policies such as school choice were masked as democracy. People choose to be poor or not to work or to be drug users, according to this logic, and if that's what they choose, schools and/or government cannot rescue them. In an equal setting for all groups and individuals, this argument might be considered seriously. However, there are, as Jonathan Kozol (1991) puts it, "savage inequalities," and democracy/choice is a sham when individuals start with such inequalities.

The curriculum must also include study of the media. Whereas television was a powerful one-way medium, computers now make media much more interactive. Just as people had to (and still need to) learn to question what they read in books, so too must they question what they see, hear, and feel on television or by computer. The introduction of computer voting, demonstrated recently in Colorado and implemented in Norway (Voting by Button 1992) on a small scale, requires pervasive study of the media in social contexts. Literacy, today and in the future, means more than reading, writing, and speaking. It must include media knowledge and understanding.

Content themes for social studies should include—in addition to racism, justice, and media—a study of government's operations. In the past this was often a structural analysis of a calcified institution; by contrast, the new curriculum will examine working government—on site, in simulation, and in consonance with societal goals, the failures and corruption of government as well as case studies of governmental successes and laudatory acts. Interwoven with the operation of government is the concomitant response of law. Law-related education has exploded in legitimacy, popularity, and acceptance since 1980. It provides themes and directions for all grade levels while maintaining academic integrity.

The case study will be much more vital in the new curriculum, allowing for conceptual themes to drive specific content choice and variation. Critics concerned with the lack of history in the curriculum will find the case study to provide more history methodology and conceptual retention. So, too, with geography and the application of the five themes of geographic education developed by the coalition of professional geography associations and National Geographic Society. They will be better served within the themes and contexts discussed above than in the minimalist, fact-based application to which many schools insist on reducing the guidelines.

Clearly, these content themes are not limited to American study. The issues of racism, justice, media, government, and law are universal and should be viewed as such and applied as a template to European, Asian, or African study.

In addition to *studying* the media, the new social studies curriculum will be much more reliant on alternative delivery systems. In other words, teachers will be much less dominant in controlling the curricular flow. Although instructional television has been around for years, only with the popular use of VCRs in schools has that form of media exhibited significant growth.

The proliferation of computer software—particularly interactive video and CD ROMs—will be pronounced in the social studies classroom. Curriculum planning will include these various media modes.

The spate of social studies reports in 1988-1989 should be acknowledged, but they offer little for the curriculum in the 21st century, other than a way of thinking. The Bradley Commission stated:

> Whichever approach is chosen, the Commission is concerned that teachers be left free to choose engaging books with memorable content, and to tap the same vein of curiosity and imagination that popular culture recognizes and exploits for commercial gain (Bradley Commission 1988, p. 17).

The National Commission on Social Studies was even broader than the Bradley Commission in its curricular scope, but still had limited parameters, choosing not to recommend broad change in the curriculum.

Persistent Critical Issues

At least two issues need to be addressed. First is the risk of an overlapping curriculum. Second is the training of teachers for this curriculum. On the face of it, the former issue appears formidable. Because of consistent themes spiraled throughout the social studies curriculum, students may be exposed to the same content more than once.

Such repetition would not be a new occurrence, since the curriculum of the past 100 years has had such duplication *by design*, not coincidence. U.S. history, chronologically covered from pre-European contact to today (usually World War II), describes the content of the social studies curriculum of grades 5, 8, and 11. The tracing of Western civilization from the cradle of civilization through Napoleonic Europe is usually seen in both junior and senior high school, and no apologies are heard. The 1916 Committee on the Social Studies prescribed a three-year pattern to be essentially repeated in greater depth from junior to senior high school. Thus, the criticism of overlap would be as valid (if not more so) for the current curricular model as it is for any new one.

Nevertheless, there would be little worry of real repetition if teachers are given the latitude to shape the curriculum offerings to their own and the community's own "images." Media study, for example, is so broad and changeable that any current study is bound to be different from previous studies. Factor in the expertise and interests of particular teachers, and redundancy becomes a virtual nonissue.

Not as easily addressed is the issue of training social studies teachers. In terms of the content of preservice programs, such teachers will require more eclectic coursework, courses that are multi- or crossdisciplinary and that are in short but growing supply at institutions of higher learning. Courses in, for example, Science, Technology and Society, Women's Studies, or American Studies have a more broad-based issues focus and greater potential to address the curricular concerns expressed above.

Communications study, American history, and politics courses from less traditional directions would also be necessary. "Real" political study will require greater political involvement as well as a *community service* component similar to that addressed in many "new" proposals, such as Sizer's *Horace's School*.

Teachers in training should not be "protected" from critical theory and left to discover it as graduate students

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or veteran teachers. Thus, coursework in education must be more than methods and foundations courses. Teachers who return to graduate school for advanced degrees often comment that they wish that the critical assessment of schools, schooling, and education that is common in graduate school had been a part of their undergraduate teacher-training program. Preservice teachers would not only take a course in either curriculum or foundations that is primarily a critical one, but would find a critical forum present in general methods and specialized social studies methods coursework.

Although a multi- or interdisciplinary emphasis would be paramount, quality coursework in all of the social science disciplines would still be needed. After introductory coursework in each of these areas, students would take only upper level coursework in the disciplines, with an emphasis on critical thought in these courses.

Going much beyond this sketchy frame is difficult without beginning what would be an entirely new essay. Robinson's chapter addresses these teacher education concerns more fully.

A new wrinkle in all of this is the drive toward national standards in history, geography, civics, and social studies. Will such standards, if and when adopted, lead to a national curriculum, de jure rather than the de facto one that exists today? I would predict that if such a curriculum were to be mandated (and I do not believe this will happen), the guidelines would be so broad as to allow continued flexibility on the part of the state, the district, or the individual teacher.

In summation, the curriculum of the future in social studies will be more critical in tone, more inter- or transdisciplinary in scope, and more socially conscious in quality. As the United States scales back economically, it will also need to address the deficiencies of that 15 to 20 percent of the population without hope, without help, and without direction. The curricular strands of racism, justice, law, governmental operation, and media will provide a foundation for the school's efforts to educate *all* of its students fairly and appropriately.

All of these notions will be shaped by local conditions, allowing community input and the singular interpretation of individual teachers. The teacher will be committed to helping students learn more than textbook recitations. A commitment to critical thought and a critical assessment of our society will delimit the prospective teacher. The goal of the curriculum, as it always has been, will be to improve society. Maybe this time, the goal can apply to all of our citizens.

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Chapter 10

THE FUTURE OF SOCIAL STUDIES CERTIFICATION

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The development of social studies teachers' abilities after their initial licensure is a topic that has not attracted much attention. So many serious issues confront this curriculum field—the plausibility of its goals, the organization of its content, the evidence of its outcomes, indeed, the legitimacy of its existence as an identifiable area of instruction—that a focus on the continuing cultivation of its practitioners has been understandably absent. Nonetheless, an accumulating body of evidence indicates that the quality of the social studies teacher has much to do both with what is learned by students and how students view the subject matter. Thus, the trajectory of the teacher's career span merits increasing consideration, as does the novice teacher's initial preparation. The even more specific concern lodged in this chapter is what roles governmental agencies and professional organizations have to play in initiating, monitoring, and evaluating the official provision of ongoing professional development and assessment.

Speculation on the future of certification in the social studies does not, on the surface, offer much hope of engendering powerful ideas or fresh visions. At an everyday level, the term refers to the process of gaining governmental license to teach; that is, of gaining official sanction from a state department of education to practice in the schools. More precisely, the term *certification* is coming to mean the granting of professional recognition to an experienced teacher who has met qualifications specified by a nongovernmental agency (normally beyond the state's licensing requirements). This is the predominant sense in which I use the term in this chapter. At its broadest meaning, however, the term embodies all of our aspirations and concerns for the knowledge, skills, and dispositions we want to characterize the teachers offering this most value-laden and central of subject areas to our young people.

Teacher preparation and continuing development have become unexpectedly visible issues in the wake of the first generation of educational reform reports of the 1980s. A number of questions deserve to be distinguished and addressed in considering the future of the social studies, although in practice these questions interweave (and cannot be systematically treated in this brief chapter):

- What are appropriate sets of certification requirements?
- Who controls the generation and application of the requirements? Who **should** control the requirements?
- What relationships can be found among the application of the requirements, the performance of teachers, and the learning outcomes of students?
- What peculiar features of the social studies (in comparison to other curriculum areas) merit unique certification requirements?
- The focus of the social studies, at least as represented by the National Council for the Social Studies, is toward integration of the field. Should certification support that curricular direction?
- It is generally acknowledged that there are many ways in which to be an effective teacher. Does the construction of any national certification system tend to calcify into "one best system," excluding styles that may be effective with some young people some of the time but are not congruent with the reigning model?

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A Historical Perspective

In thinking about the future of the social studies, it is stimulating to consider projections from earlier eras. Certainly James Michener's 1939 volume of edited essays on the future of the social studies is a prime starting point in this field. While his own introductory chapter in that book raised a series of questions that troubled the field then, and for which the subsequent chapters were meant to serve as provocative proposals and springboards toward further deliberation (and which, by the way, read as a remarkably modern statement of concerns), they centered almost entirely on issues of curriculum. Although Michener did not discount the importance of preparing teachers, he viewed it as one already well on the road to satisfactory resolution:

> The preparation of competent teachers is being studied widely, and those practices which promise to produce better teachers are rapidly spreading. The American Council on Education's Commission on Teacher Education is at present concerned with this problem, and in the field of the social studies the most recent yearbook of tne National Council deals directly with teacher education (Michener 1939, p. 2; see also pp. 3-7 of this text for the complete text of Michener's introduction).

Michener was referring to the tenth NCSS Yearbook, *In-Service Growth of Social-Studies Teachers* (1939). He believed that teachers were already being prepared to use "the newer methods"; the serious remaining problems revolved around what the social studies curriculum should be. In the half-century since NCSS published Michener's volume of curriculum proposals, scholars who study the field have maintained a disproportionate focus on the nature of the curriculum and have largely ignored the preparation and continued shaping of those charged with teaching that curriculum.

As Irving Morrissett pointed out (1984), the "best preparation for developing sensitivity to emerging trends and for making likely projections of the future is an intimate acquaintance with the past and with the current status of one's field of expertise." My acquaintance with the past leads me to a cautious pessimism that current trends toward national certification in social studies will indeed blossom into policy that will have extensive impact on teaching in the field. At the same time, I suspect that the impulses driving the national certification efforts will create residues and pockets of inspiration that will seep into practice on a state and local level. Much as the inquiry/New Social Studies movement of the 1960s and 1970s was rejected on a national scale but nevertheless took hold in the dispositions and practices of many individual teachers—acting as a leaven on their development—so too may the initiatives in national certification leave behind some beneficial traces.

Teaching vs. the Curriculum

As important as the continuous debate over the nature of the social studies **curriculum** might be, recent signs of a refocusing of interest on **teaching** and those who engage in it are encouraging. Larry Cuban, a former social studies teacher and textbook author, recently issued a clear call for all curriculum fields to give renewed attention to matters of pedagogy and of "the very heartbeat of schooling: the relationship of a teacher to students over subject matter," as opposed to the reigning "passion for subject matter" by itself (Cuban 1992, p. 40). More directly within the social studies field, Fred Newmann has shrewdly assessed future needs and, as a consequence, has encouraged the field to consider critical issues beyond the perennials of what to teach and how to teach it. In addition to the issues of diversity in teachers' priorities and student disengagement, Newmann identified a third issue, mediocre teaching:

> Some teachers do not know their subject; some cannot communicate effectively orally or in writing; some occupy students with mindless, nonsensical work; some fail to give students constructive feedback; and some even humiliate students. Neither disagreement about the best approaches to social studies, nor the difficulty of making fine-grained, reliable distinctions about the quality of teaching can adequately explain the mediocre teaching that has been documented in studies..., that have been reported by our own children, and that we have personally observed.
>
> We must recognize inadequate teaching as a significant problem, even though it may be difficult to give precise estimates on how often it occurs in particular grade levels, subjects or types of schools. Understanding how to improve mediocre or poor teaching is complex to be sure, but students of all ages and levels of sophistication can identify it (Newmann 1986, p. 242).

National Certification

The most prominent expression of a concern for the development of teachers as a salient aspect of educational reform efforts in this country has been the establishment of the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards. Formed in 1987 as a nongovernmental, not-for-profit, 64-member teacher-majority panel, it has positioned itself to answer the questions of what professional teachers should know and what they should be able to do. The Board has raised tens of millions of dollars to develop what it describes as high, rigorous, and fair standards for teaching and to create ways to determine when candidates meet those standards. The social studies field has had a prominent place in the establishment of this national voluntary certification system, in part because Robert Lynch, a high school social studies teacher from New York, has been an articulate member of the Board, and in part because the prototype assessments developed for the Board have focused on high school history (as well as on elementary school mathematics) teaching.

The Board has determined that one of the most important actions the nation can take to improve schools is to strengthen teaching. Its vehicle for accomplishing that action is a certification system that emphasizes teacher effectiveness and that is to be made valid by a comprehensive system of assessments: written tests, classroom observations, portfolios, and assessment centers. The focus is on the proficiency of the individual teacher; the expectation is that those individuals who qualify will serve as lead teachers in school districts, which would compete for their services. Forming a certified elite, these superior teachers would have authority to supervise colleagues and curriculum and become the catalyst for change in their school districts. It should be acknowledged that one of the five core propositions of the National Board is a recognition that teachers are members of learning communities. Further, the Board has assumed a responsibility for addressing the reform issues of creating a more effective environment for teaching and learning in schools as well as improving teacher education and continuing professional development. The weight of its public influence so far, however, has been directed toward the assessment and certification of accomplished individual teachers.

The National Council for the Social Studies and other national curriculum-based organizations have not waited for the completion of the National Board's work. Several of these organizations have initiated their own processes of advanced certification. The National Council for the Social Studies has recently established its own Advanced Certification of Teachers of Social Studies, based on standards set by its Task Force on Continued Professional Development. A handful of applicants have already received this advanced certification. Given the Council's lack of financial resources, its advanced certification is unlikely to be a viable alternative to the proposals being developed by the National Board, but they may well fill the void in national standards for the time being.

Alternative Directions

Cuban's essay, Newmann's research, and the work of the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards all suggest that Michener's dismissal of teacher preparation as an object of serious concern in the social studies was greatly premature. Newmann's and the Board's initiatives, however, point in different directions and offer rather conflicting visions of the future. The Board believes that improvement in teaching can come about through the mechanism of national certification, modeling teaching along the lines of the medical profession and making it more attractive to able individuals. Districts will be willing to compete with one another for the opportunity to employ—at considerably higher pay—Board-certified teachers who will serve as a quality magnet for the school's entire teaching force. Newmann, on the other hand, finds few prospects for success in career incentives such as Board certification for a few. The research on workplace productivity suggests to him the need for much greater teacher collegiality to improve teaching, even in the face of the norm of autonomy.

It is hard to be optimistic about the power of teacher certification to demonstrably alter social studies teaching. The National Board's emphasis on the individual, the certified superior teacher acting as a leaven on entire faculties and schools, is a notion not supported in the literature I have read or in my own experience as a social studies teacher and as an observer of social studies teachers. Newmann's focus on the collective, on the power of collegiality to alleviate mediocre teaching, faces the reality of school districts that offer teachers little support for the professional development they require to rethink and reshape their institutional role or their own teaching practices. Furthermore, Cuban (1992) suggests that significant political agendas underlie the tilt toward subject matter and away from teaching in school reform efforts: it is easier to point to concrete results, even if they are illusory; it is cheaper to change the content than to improve the quality of teaching; and symbolic struggles over content divert attention from "troubling fundamental disparities in school outcomes." Cuban leaves us with the question of whether what he labels "the mindless prejudice against pedagogy" will continue through the 1990s. To this point it seems to remain in place.

For at least the near future, the National Board's initiative will hold center stage. Its inclusion of teachers on the policy-making board, its attention to the difficulties of authentic assessment, and its funding and political support all give it a well-earned credibility. Still, as Newmann points out, the career structure of teaching has yet to be altered in major ways on a national scale through deliberate policy. Even if the Board does not capture a permanent place in the institutional array of the teaching profession, I suspect that the determinations of good teaching and the assessment instruments developed by the Board will be scrutinized, picked over, and adapted by state departments of education, local school districts, and professional organizations, as they find these tools useful for their own purposes.

By the same token, teachers are coming to recognize the necessity of serious adult conversation and cooperative interaction in improving teaching. Thus, I anticipate that teachers will increasingly support Newmann's proposed strategies for collective planning, mutual observation and discussion toward improvement of teaching styles, and participation in networks of interest with colleagues beyond their schools, even in the face of the attendant organizational and political difficulties. Many such initiatives—tied to notions of teacher empowerment and school restructuring—have already begun, and teachers will continue to develop them whether or not National Board certified teachers are on site to provide leadership. Still, any such anticipation should be quite cautious. There is ample evidence available regarding how very difficult it is to impact the professional lives of social studies teachers (and, of course, of teachers in general). Hanvey's (1971) anthropologically perceptive account of the jolts he encountered in attempting to introduce new social studies curriculum materials into the "beautifully articulated system" of the school culture and Parker's (1991) description of the influence of school organization on curriculum both suggest that even teachers of good will and positive intentions face daunting obstacles in working toward improvement of the profession from within.

Whatever the specific paths certification of social studies teachers takes in the future, we must realize that expectations for teachers cannot be separated and addressed independently from other major issues of schooling. There is a movement nationally to forge tighter links among national curriculum standards, state curriculum frameworks, assessments, technology, initial teacher preparation, staff development, and teacher certification. As parts of the educational system, one subsystem is reshaping that should impact all the other elements. For example, the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) recently approved its first set of outcomes-based standards for the preparation of teachers. As a result, teachers who graduate from NCATE-accredited teacher preparation programs should be capable of preparing students to meet the performance standards established by the various subject-matter organizations, including the National Council for the Social Studies. Attempts are also being made to strengthen the admittedly weak links to be found between preservice and inservice teacher education, between higher education and elementary and secondary educators. Thus, the hoped-for increase in the commitment and competence of social studies teachers to teach and to offer a more potent learning environment—to be brought about through certification provisions and other forms of advanced preparation—is deeply intertwined with and affected by other developments. It is hoped that these factors can aid in strengthening teacher certification in social studies and, concomitantly, the field itself.

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Chapter 11

THE FUTURE OF RESEARCH ON SOCIAL STUDIES

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A few years ago, Jack Nelson and I (1985) coauthored a chapter on "research in social studies." In a departure from tradition, we wrote separate sections on "The Future of Research in Social Studies Education" because "our views were discrepant in some significant ways" (p. 415). Actually, Jack thought my view to be too gloomy and lacking in optimism.

In a prior section (pp. 410-415), Jack and I had reviewed the methodological status of research on social studies—the lack of replications, of programmatic research rooted in prior efforts, and of attention to aptitude-treatment interactions; research aimed at professors' interests, with little involvement of teachers in problem formulation, research design, or interpretation of findings; the use of overly brief treatments and immediate posttests (i.e., lack of validity vis-a-vis actual classroom life); the dominance of statistical significance testing; and the lack of attention to epistemological issues and underlying assumptions, such as the definition of social studies. I then went on in my "futures" section to ask the question:

> What if...research in the field were to become in large part methodologically sound? Would we begin to see a burgeoning of integrated knowledge, even theory, such as we see in the hard, that is, the biological and physical sciences (p. 416)?

"Not likely" was my answer.

The Future Then

Why such skepticism? My reasons were several. I noted Kuhn's (1970) observation that researchers in service-oriented fields, in contrast to those in science, tend to address problems based on social pressure for solutions rather than on the availability of a sound theoretical frame and the instrumentation and other conditions necessary for scientific knowledge-building. I also reiterated some serious epistemological problems: the belief that a reality can be discovered uninfluenced by one's values and prior conceptualizations and a reductionist emphasis on objectivity, on separation of the researcher from the phenomenon to be studied, producing data that do not validly reflect life in schools.

In that regard, I noted the potential of "naturalistic research, such as the ethnographic approach..., [as] not just an alternative means of collecting data, but the basis for new, hopefully more meaningful" research—if "implemented thoughtfully" (p. 417). Many years before, Larkins and I had advocated greater use of ethnography in research on social studies to "tease out the complicated relationships" in "the tangled web of instruction and learning". (Shaver and Larkins 1973, p. 1254). We cited Smith's (Smith and Geoffrey 1968) use and advocacy of ethnography to generate meaningful propositions for "mid-range" theories to then be tested through "statistical" (quantitative) research. Of course, that view of ethnographic research as primarily antecedent to quantitative studies is now outdated; current perspectives range from belief in complete antagonism between the two approaches, to advocacy of their use as complementary data sources, to perceiving them as independent research paradigms (see, e.g., Lancy 1993, pp. 10-13).

Ontology. But I digress. After raising fundamental epistemological issues, I suggested in my "futures" section (as I had before [e.g., Shaver, 1982b]) that ontology

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was even more basic to the negative prospects for research on social studies. Over the years I had found persuasive (and still do) Gergen's (1973) argument that we err in social research when we assume "a reality in which the facts are stable, rather than constantly in flux...." Instead, cultural changes invalidate social research findings, in part "because people are thoughtful, reactive...[to] research findings that are diffused into the culture" (Nelson and Shaver 1985, p. 417). In short, "generalizations from social science research must change over time (as opposed to those in the 'hard' sciences, which are basically timeless)" (p. 417).

Also pertinent, I opined (again, as I had done before), was Cronbach's extension of Gergen's view that social science research is basically historical in nature to include the complications introduced by interactions between variables (Nelson and Shaver 1985, pp. 417-418). That complexity, Cronbach argued, makes educational and psychological research much like "a hall of mirrors that extends to infinity" (Cornbleth 1975, p. 119). As a consequence, the accumulation of research-based social knowledge is extremely difficult, if not impossible, except on very abstract levels that are of little assistance to educators. As Cronbach commented:

> Our troubles do not arise because human events are in principle unlawful. Man and his [*sic*] creations are part of the natural world. The trouble is . . . that we cannot store up generalizations and constructs for ultimate assembly into a network (1975, p. 123).

Clearly, then, Gergen and Cronbach did not abandon the notion that human behavior is lawful, only the assumption that generalizations about that behavior can be accumulated into theory that is not time-bound. I pointed out, however, that Perrow presented a more iconoclastic view: that social science researchers' compulsion for rational explanations of human behavior leads us to impose order, to avoid "the disorder of our everyday existence and the unpredictable nature of human history" (Perrow 1981, p. 2). This modern push for certainty is, Perrow argued, in contrast to the ancient Greeks, who "had greater tolerance for happenstance, accidents, mysteries, illogicalities, and above all, for fate. Count no life happy, the chorus repeats over and over in the Greek tragedies, until it is over; one can never know what the unpredictable gods have in store" (pp. 3-4). As Buchmann (1984) noted, educational researchers often commit the fallacy of misplaced certainty and also ignore the complexities of human interactions; thus, they are likely to not recognize the "humor and common wisdom" that are essential if teachers are to meet the demands of unpredictable classroom events.

Following up on these ontological conceptions, I suggested in my "futures" section that to make research on social studies productive, the search for scientific theory should be abandoned. The aim instead should be to conduct research that would sensitize social studies educators to the variety and relative importance of factors that influence educational outcomes; the focus should be on developing explanatory concepts, working hypotheses, not timeless generalizations; or, as Cronbach put it, on "helping people use their heads" (1975, p. 126). From that perspective, the challenge is not to produce findings that can be translated into technology or used for prescribing teaching behavior (Shaver 1979), but "to identify what does work in schools and then [conduct] studies to understand why" (Nelson and Shaver 1985, p. 419). I also concluded that such a future for research on social studies was unlikely.

Chaos. As it turned out, my ontological concerns were reinforced within a few years of the Nelson and Shaver chapter by a new turn in scientific conceptualization. As I tried to understand and explain the disappointingly inconsistent and contradictory findings from a meta-analysis of the research on modifying attitudes toward persons with disabilities (Shaver and others 1987), I chanced across an article in the *Scientific American* by physicist James Crutchfield and his associates (1986) discussing a new scientific construct, *chaos*. This encounter occurred prior to Gleick's (1987) book popularizing this new area of science and introduction of the construct into the educational research literature (e.g., Bobner, Newman, and Wessinger 1989; Cronbach 1988; Cziko 1989). Chaos—that is, randomness in behavior generated according to orderly, lawful principles—seemed to be both a reasonable extension of the ontological perspective framed by the writings of Gergen, Cronbach, and Perrow and a plausible characterization of the reality of efforts at attitude modification.

Metaphorically, much of human behavior may be akin to chaotic phenomena, such as the weather, water flow in a turbulent stream, or a speck of dust floating in the air. One knows generally what will happen, but specifics (Will it rain two days hence? Where will a drop of water go? Where will the dust land?) are not reliably predictable because small perturbations have magnified effects. A subtle change in temperature, a slight variation in the way the water strikes a rock, an undiscernible shift in air current—each has a major impact, and the causal forces, although lawful, become so tangled that the result is indeed random (in the sense of unpredictable), although not chance.

Along similar lines, Light and Smith (1971) had concluded that contradictory results might well be valid descriptions of educational reality. Glass (1979) had mused that educational phenomena are "unlawful, unpredictable, and unknowable in the traditional scientific sense," leaving researchers unable to "explain any appreciable proportion of the variance in success of different methods of schooling implementation in different places". Should we, Glass wondered, continue the search for "the elusive consistencies and patterns to which we seem no nearer now than 20 years ago" (p. 14)? Is the social-studies reality indeed chaotic, "lawful, with many regularities, but with such reactivity to minor perturbances that specific behavior is largely unpredictable" (Shaver 1991, p. 94)? If so, to seek to inform and sensitize educational decision-makers is preferable both to striving for an unrealistic goal of scientific theory or giving up research altogether.

The Future Now

What, then, is the future of research on social studies nearly 10 years after Nelson and Shaver (1985)? To answer that question, another look at status is necessary. First, a reading of Fraenkel and Wallen (1991) indicates little reason to believe that marked methodological improvements in quantitative social studies research have occurred in the interim. Among other things, the thoughtless and dysfunctional use of inferential statistics continues in educational research generally, as well as in social studies research (Shaver in press). Effect sizes (metrics of the magnitude of results that are independent of sample size and scale of measurement, better called *result sizes* to avoid cause-and-effect misinterpretations) are not often reported (Shaver 1991).

A major concern has emerged (Cohen 1990; Shaver, in press) with the advent of powerful personal computers. Researchers are now doing statistical analyses in their offices that even five to ten years ago required mainframe computers. Consequently, educational researchers (and others) for whom simple statistics, such as *t* tests, are mystical producers of results are now carrying out complex analyses, such as multivariate analysis of variance and discriminant function, with little or no conception of the assumptions involved and the pitfalls in interpretation. The result will be more sophisticated but equally or more meaningless research reports as researchers rely unthinkingly on the "black box" to magically produce valid results.

In my experience, social studies educators tend not to be quantitatively oriented. That makes them particularly susceptible to the misapplication and misinterpretation of even simple inferential and correlational statistics. On the other hand, the lack of quantitative security may mean they will be less entranced by the complex analyses that are now so readily at hand. Perhaps Cohen's (1990) admonition that, in statistical analyses, "simple is better" (p. 1305) will be honored unknowingly, if not intentionally.

Another major impediment to the interpretation of research results from individual studies or in reviews of research remains: the lack of validity evidence for our dependent measures. Of special concern, in light of the common statement that the central goal for social studies education is citizenship education or civic competence (even stated officially and repeatedly, by the National Council for the Social Studies [see Anderson 1993; Shaver 1977, p. 302]) is the lack of research evidence to link assessment scores to adult citizenship behavior. (Phillips [1937, pp. 65-66] expressed similar concerns, in contrast with Michener's positive appraisal in 1939 [see Chapter 1] that "perfected" evaluation instruments were available.) Although quantitative reviews of research have gained in popularity (Shaver 1991), they are likely to be low-yield efforts as long as the research base, including the validity of the dependent variables, is methodologically weak.

That conclusion in regard to methodology brings us back to the more basic issues of epistemology and ontology as related to the meaningfulness of research results. Do research findings adequately reflect the realities of social studies classrooms? Are they likely to be viewed as relevant by practitioners? Can researchers more adequately meet the standards of reality and relevance?

Qualitative Research Revisited

The shift to qualitative research has been, at least in part, an effort to produce positive responses to such epistemological questions (see, e.g., Preissle-Goetz and LeCompte 1991; White 1985). Although acceptance of qualitative research by the educational research community seems to have increased markedly (Eisner and Peshkin 1990; Lancy 1993, Ch. 1), Fraenkel and Wallen reported in 1991 that quantitative studies continued to dominate the social studies research literature, ranging from 71 percent to 100 percent of the articles published in three social studies journals and of the social-studies reports in general educational research journals (p. 69). Nevertheless, the reporting of qualitative studies of social studies is increasing and will continue to do so in the years ahead. Whether the expansion in quantity will be accompanied by enhanced quality and heightened impact on instruction remains to be seen.

A Copout? One concern is the tendency of some graduate students (and other researchers?) to select a qualitative methodology because they deem it easier than a quantitative study with statistical number crunching. Observing in a classroom seems to fit better with past experience and to be less demanding. However, to be done well, not just "blitzkrieg ethnography" (Rist 1980), qualitative research usually involves an enormous investment of time by the researcher (not just three or four weeks in a classroom for a couple of hours a day) and a level of commitment from participants that may make it difficult to find a study site appropriate to the questions to be explored (Preissle-Goetz and LeCompte 1991).

Sometimes researchers seem to choose qualitative inquiry because they believe it will allow them to avoid tough questions of design and data analysis and interpretation. As Larkins and I suggested in 1973 in regard to ethnography, that is fallacious reasoning *if* the study is to be worthwhile. Compared with the typical quantitative research project, which is deemed successful regardless of results if a pre-approved research plan is followed, ethnography involves risk-taking because a precise end result cannot be specified a priori (also see Preissle-Goetz and LeCompte 1991, p. 63). As Eisner and Peshkin pointed out, qualitative research has a relative lack of "canons and conventions" and its "procedures are more idiosyncratic" (Eisner and Peshkin 1990, pp. 1-2).

Consequently, judgment plays a great role in qualitative research, which is heavily dependent on "attention to detail, sensitivity to coherence, appreciation of innuendo, and the ability to read subtext as well as text" (p. 12).

By whatever name they are called (such terms as *trustworthiness* and *credibility* are used), the reliability and validity issues of quantitative research remain, but are even more elusive (see Eisner and Peshkin 1990; Lancy 1993). Are the descriptions (data) accurate (reliable and valid)? Is there internal validity in the sense that attributions of causality are trustworthy? Is there external validity; that is, are the findings and interpretations generalizable to other persons and settings? Do the interpretations make sense in terms of an explicated, logical, and justified schema or model (what Fetterman seems to mean by "theory" [Fetterman 1989, p. 15])?

Underlying these questions remain the basic issues of epistemology and ontology. What are the researcher's assumptions as to what it means "to know" about the subject being studied? Is it sufficient to tell a story regarding classroom events, or does "knowing" include explanatory principles that will help others anticipate, interpret, and behave productively in other settings and situations? What is the difference, if any, between qualitative research reports and fiction, such as a novel (Eisner and Peshkin 1990, pp. 365-366)? And, the more fundamental question: What are the effects of our social and historical contexts on how and what we know (Popkewitz and St. Maurice 1991)? Is the underlying reality such that explanatory concepts can be derived validly, or are they no more than the researcher's imposition? If the latter, is a basically relativistic approach to research worth pursuing?

Unless such questions are addressed systematically, qualitative research on social studies will be confused and confusing. Clarity about ontological and epistemological assumptions and the critical examination of those assumptions are essential if the lack of credibility and the irrelevance of past research are to be avoided.

Intellectual Nihilism? A careful reading of a perceptive analysis by Guba (1990) makes clear the potential danger of not scrutinizing our often implicit beliefs about the nature of reality and our knowledge of it. Guba describes the ontological and epistemological assumptions of four "inquiry paradigms": positivism, postpositivism, critical theory, and constructivism. Briefly, the positivist is the traditional researcher who believes that there is a reality "out there" that can be understood from an objective stance; the postpositivist agrees that there is a reality but denies that it can be fully understood, and admits that objectivity is an ideal that should be sought but cannot be attained; the critical theorist takes the same ontological stance as the postpositivist, but sees research as a political, value-mediated process, and so rejects the possibility of objectivity; finally, to the constructivist, reality is that which persons construct mentally, and inquiry is inherently a subjective endeavor as the inquirer creates a reality while interacting with the subject of study.

Qualitative research does not fit intrinsically in any of Guba's paradigms. Conversely, his categories do not elucidate an essential difference in quantitative and qualitative research, although some would argue that, at the level of paradigm rather than method, there is an inherent distinction (Lancy 1993, pp. 8-10), a distinction that Guba (1990, p. 22) also draws between *research in natural settings* and *naturalistic inquiry*. Qualitative research can be conducted from a positivist position, as has been the case with much anthropological ethnography, such as Malinowski's landmark studies of the Trobriand islanders (White 1985, pp. 215-216) and Smith and Geoffrey's (1968) study of an elementary classroom. Most quantitative social researchers now seem, at least implicitly, to have adopted a postpositivist orientation, and that view also is a feasible frame for qualitative research. Postpositivism seems implicit throughout Preissle-Goetz and LeCompte's (1991) chapter on "Qualitative Research in Social Studies Education"; they also recognize the variety of philosophical frames that can underlie qualitative research and the importance of explicating one's underlying assumptions. The critical theory perspective, which seems less pertinent to either quantitative or qualitative research per se, deserves separate mention and I will return to it. The constructivist paradigm merits special attention because it has been equated with "naturalistic inquiry" (Guba 1990, p. 22; Lincoln and Guba 1985), a term occasionally used as a synonym for qualitative research (see, e.g., Lancy 1993, pp. 2, 7-8 and compare with Lincoln and Guba 1990, p. 250).

Ironically, although at different ends of Guba's ontology-epistemology scale of certainty, constructivist researchers will encounter the same problem as positivist researchers have in the past (and as postpositivist researchers now face): lack of acceptance by teachers. Part of the difficulty is general to educational researchers, qualitative or quantitative. It is communication, getting results into teachers' hands (Shaver 1982a). Quantitative researchers have often prepared reports in technical jargon that is inaccessible to teachers; even those who wrote comprehensible text found that teachers are not avid readers of professional journals (for good reason, given the demands on their time and energy). Qualitative researchers in general, including those who work from a constructivist stance, will face a similar barrier. In addition, even getting published will be difficult because of the length of qualitative reports. Lancy (1993), for example, has lamented the inaccessibility of much qualitative research, locked as it is in theses and dissertations.

More basically, however, where positivist research was deemed irrelevant because it treated the classroom in too superficial and fragmented a manner, constructivist inquiry will be seen as ontologically and epistemologically irrelevant. The constructivist paradigm is based on the fundamental assumption that there is no distinction between ontology and epistemology, because "what can be known and the individual who knows it are fused in a coherent whole," so that findings are not reports about "what is 'out there' but the residue of a process that *literally creates* them" (Guba 1990, p. 26, italics in the original). Constructivism as a theory of learning—i.e., that each person must build his or her own knowledge of the world—is sensible, providing educators with the challenge of guiding the student toward valid, yet personally meaningful, conceptualization. On the other hand, in contrast to *personal knowledge*, it is an inherent contradiction to say that each researcher builds his or her own *social knowledge* but those results will then be helpful to others, such as teachers (Shaver, 1992).

Research from the constructivist perspective will be too relativistic, too intellectually nihilistic, to be acceptable or useful to classroom teachers. The constructivist paradigm provides no basis for the development of even the explanatory constructs (or working hypotheses) that I have advocated as a realistic research goal. That recommendation comes from an inquiry paradigm not included in Guba's (1990) schemata: a *pragmatic realist* perspective. An ontologically complex, changing human reality is presumed and the difficulty of objectivity is acknowledged; however, reality is assumed to be sufficiently stable in the moderate run (a decade or so) and can be known with sufficient certainty by circumspect, sensitive researchers to allow the development of time-dependent understandings helpful to educators in "using their heads."

Philosophical Inquiry and Critical Theory

The inquiry paradigm that researchers adopt, consciously or not, has significant implications both for how research on social studies will be conducted and for the potential fruitfulness of that research for practice (also see paradigm discussions by Bredo and Feinberg 1982b, and Popkewitz 1986). That the essential elucidation and examination of assumptions will take place is not clear. It has not in the past (Shaver 1982b).

Perhaps the lack of philosophical inquiry in regard to research is an inevitable corollary of the general tendency of social studies educators to be unreflective about the assumptions underlying their work (Shaver 1977; Stanley 1985). For example, the clarity in the definition of *social studies* to guide research that Larkins and I (Shaver and Larkins 1973) called for in the early 1970s is still lacking today (Preissle-Goetz and LeCompte 1991, p. 62). The brief definition of social studies as education for civic competence (Anderson 1993) is not sufficient; too many complex issues, assumptions, and implications remain unexplicated, unexamined, and pulled together in a conceptually sound whole (see, e.g., Fullinwider 1991; Longstreet 1990) for logically valid, comprehensive K-12 curriculum-building or demarcation and structuring of research.

A burgeoning of philosophical inquiry in social studies generally, or in regard to research assumptions in particular, is not, however, likely in the foreseeable future. Researchers, quantitative and qualitative, will undoubtedly continue to conduct their studies without clearly formulated perspectives and the results will be lacking in usefulness, as in the past.

The invitation to philosophical inquiry about social studies has particular poignancy in the research context because of the involvement of some social studies educators in an inquiry paradigm—critical theory—that is more philosophical and analytical than empirical—that is, more concerned with the examination of beliefs, assumptions, and the implications of research and practice than with actual attempts to describe reality.

Critical theory, which Cherryholmes (1991) set in the broader context of critical research, is one of Guba's (1990) paradigm labels. However, rather than subsuming a number of research approaches, as positivism and postpositivism, even constructivism, do, critical theory is a distinctive, value-sensitive approach to inquiry. The critical theorist argues that the researcher "is never just a passive observer telling us how the world is; he or she is a participant in the very act of maintaining and reconstructing the social life world" (Bredo and Feinberg 1982a, p. 276). That is, research is a political act that can either reinforce current social and economic status, including the inequities, or be a vehicle for illuminating, demystifying, and challenging the status quo. Drawing on Marxist thought and analysis, the critical theorist critiques the dominant culture and its institutions, the school in particular, in the interest of increased social justice (Popkewitz 1986).

Critical theory is rather esoteric, typically written in tortured, complex syntactical structures that seem to defy the reader to understand the author's message; it is not well known among educators, especially classroom teachers. Consequently, critical theory is not likely to have much impact on practice, despite efforts to suggest applications to social studies education (e.g., Cherryholmes 1982; Stanley 1991).

Even more damaging to the prospect that inquiry in critical theory will influence practice is its Marxist cynicism toward current social, political, and economic institutions. That perspective fits with the frames of reference of neither social studies teachers nor the general public (Leming 1991). Critical theorists face a problem similar to that of the atheist challenging religion. The barrier is less intellectual than emotional. That is not to quarrel with the validity of the arguments of critical theorists. The difficulty, rather, is that challenges to the dominant, official culture and entreaties to empower individual youth through their involvement in the self-consciously critical analysis of institutional influences on the thoughts and actions of themselves and others are not likely to evoke positive reactions from either teachers or the relatively conservative communities in which they practice (Leming 1991, p. 234).

Conclusion

Despite the growth of interest in qualitative research and the emergence of critical theory, the prospects for

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the future of research on social studies are not much different than in 1985 or, for that matter, in 1973. Whether the greater involvement in qualitative research will remain at the rather superficial level of methodology or lead to the probing of difficult ontological and epistemological questions is not yet evident. Based on the past, however, it is difficult to be optimistic that the essential analysis will take place.

This chapter, nevertheless, is a plea for the self-conscious scrutiny of the research endeavor by researchers and prospective users. In that sense, what might be interpreted as a pessimistic, even cynical, perspective on the potential of research on social studies is intended rather as a positive invitation to intellectual exploration and acuity within a context of thoughtful skepticism about research and its uses in social studies education.

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Chapter 12

SPECULATING ABOUT THE FUTURE OF CHANGE IN SOCIAL STUDIES: SEEKING ANSWERS TO SOME BASIC QUESTIONS

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Introduction

Speculating about the future is risky business; one's only protection lies in the fact that testing a prediction's accuracy lies years ahead. All predictions involve assumptions, and mine involve two. First, what happens in social studies will be directly related to what happens to schools in general. Second, change over the next couple of decades will operate on the same principles that have shaped the process over the past several decades. The pace of change may quicken, but the process will remain essentially the same. This chapter is my attempt to describe and apply those lessons in trying to see what lies ahead.

Some Basic Principles of Change

Change is not a random process. Patterns exist, if we are smart enough to discover them. Over the past 30 years, we have paid increasing attention to how change happens, and the result is a growing body of literature that contains principles in which we have increasing confidence. Twenty years ago, Rogers and Shoemaker (1971) examined the process of individual change, and Miles (1964) produced a major work on educational change. Pincus (1974) analyzed the potential for change in bureaucratic organizations and Brickell (1961), Sieber (1967), Guba and Clark (1974), and Havelock (1973) described roles for educational change agents, and we were off and running. Later we will examine the New Social Studies reform effort to see what it can teach us, but first let us look at some general principles of change that have support in the literature. Many appear to be such common sense that we are left to wonder why they are so often ignored.

Principle 1: Innovations diffuse unevenly. We can plot adoption curves for innovations. "Innovators" are the first people to try new things, followed by the "early," "middle," and "late" adopters, with "laggards" the last to adopt. By the time the laggards get around to adopting the innovations, the innovators are off to something new. This curve seems to appply to schools as well as it does to individuals, and the result is lighthouse schools in one place and one-room schools in another.

Innovations are not created equal; some make it and some do not, and sometimes we can explain why. Some innovations fail because of how we promote them, while at other times it is the nature of the adopting organizations that helps or hinders the process. Finally, but certainly not less important, the innovations themselves have characteristics that help or hinder the diffusion process.

Principle 2: The more compatible an innovation is with the values of potential adopters, the more likely it is to be adopted. Those who participated in the reform movement of the 1960s and 1970s have seen this principle at work. Academics who developed curriculum materials valued inquiry and the structure of knowledge,

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while the potential adopters—teachers—wanted materials that were interesting and easy to read.

Principle 3: The more complex (including goals and means) the innovation, the less likely it is to be adopted…usually! The school day does not include much slack; teachers simply do not have time to figure out how complicated programs work. This principle also applies to innovations that require major changes in the way schools are organized, but there are exceptions. School restructuring does not require a changed organization in order to be adopted, because changing the structure "is" the innovation. Technology also seems to be an exception, because complexity actually seems to enhance its adoption potential. At the school or district level, complexity may be equated with quality and power, but at the classroom level complexity may still be a negative (Marker 1994).

Principle 4: The better an innovation is perceived to be than what it is intended to replace, the more likely it is to be adopted. As I just indicated, when it comes to technology, complex may translate to better, at least above the classroom level. This characteristic is less powerful in educational settings than it is where there is agreement on what constitutes "better." We can tell if the new car gets better gas mileage, if the new hybrid seed results in higher yields, or whether the new machine lowers cost per unit; like other monopolies, however, schools have little incentive to cut costs (Pincus 1974). Perhaps, then, we should look for other types of pay-offs, but educational innovations are often adopted long before any data on their actual success is available (Slavin 1989). We must not forget, however, that it is "perceived" rather than "actual" advantage that drives adoption decisions.

Principle 5: The more an innovation is seen as meeting the perceived needs of adopters, the more likely it is to be adopted. In the 1970s, teachers complained that academics were inventing solutions to problems that they, the teachers, did not have. Academics were busy solving the "lack of inquiry" problem when teachers wanted materials that were easy to read and that facilitated the socialization process (Shaver, Davis, and Helburn 1979). Computer-generated seating charts may be the modern-day equivalent of a solution searching for a problem.

Principle 6: The greater the sense of ownership of the innovation, the more lasting the adoption. Not only do some innovations get adopted while others are rejected, some are adopted only to be disadopted later. Adoption decisions imposed from the top seldom last. When they do, adoption is often at a superficial level; teachers have learned how to bend without breaking. When a superintendent or principal leaves, the innovation they championed is often not far behind them. Site-based management and teacher empowerment are both recognitions of this principle; both are designed to bring actual users into adoption decisions.

Principle 7: Few innovations are adopted exactly as their developers intended. Authentic assessment and national standards are currently prime candidates for illustrating this principle at work, and multicultural education may not be far behind. Even the curriculum materials that some labeled "teacher proof" proved not to be, once they were in the hands of teachers. Hall and Loucks documented that adaptation was just one of several points along the adoption continuum and was a natural process once adopters reached a certain level of confidence with an innovation (Hall and Loucks 1977).

Principle 8: Innovations interact; they do not exist in a vacuum. Rising crime rates and the growing number of single-parent households are examples of forces in the greater society that will impact social studies. So too will technology, in the forms of the Internet, KidsNet, and Channel One.

Principle 9: Innovations often have both side and surprise effects. Many years ago, Hanvey cautioned us to "look for the hidden wiring" (Hanvey 1975). Currently, national standards are intended to improve student learning and make us more accountable, but the odds are that their adoption would bring about several developments unanticipated by even their proponents.

We must remind ourselves that these principles are no more than tendency statements, not laws of human behavior as it relates to change. Each of us can think of exceptions to these principles, but they are right more than they are wrong. In that sense, they are useful in constructing what the future of change in social studies might be.

Some Basic Questions

If we had answers to the following four questions, we could do a much better job of speculating about change in social studies. Unfortunately, only one deals with past events. Answers to the remaining three await us in the coming years.

Question 1: What can we learn from the New Social Studies reforms? The wave of social studies curriculum reform in the 1960s and 1970s produced its own change literature. Handbooks of change were produced (Becker and Hahn 1975; Fox, Girault, and Lippitt 1973), and field agents were trained (Marker and Mehlinger 1972). As the social studies reform movement came to a close, several attempts were made to assess its impact (Superka 1977; Hahn 1977; Hahn, Marker, Switzer, and Turner 1976; Haas 1986).

Whether the reform effort succeeded or failed is now academic; in 1994 little remains of the massive effort. Even in the late 1970s, just as the era was ending, a large study by the National Science Foundation concluded that no more than 10 to 25 percent of social studies teachers were using the new materials (Shaver, Davis and Helburn 1979).

Why were adoption rates for the new materials so low and disadoption rates so high a few years later? In retrospect, the answers seem clear.

1. The materials were too complex. Most curriculum packages contained many pieces, creating inventory and storage nightmares, making coordination and use difficult, and increasing costs. Many schools bought the basic books and ignored the "supplementary stuff."

2. The materials did not match the values of adopters. Developers valued inquiry and discovery, the structure of knowledge, and critical examination of controversial social issues. Teachers were more interested in factual content that facilitated socialization than in those that challenged community values and were sometimes seen as promoting "secular humanism."

3. The materials did not meet the needs of teachers. Developers were solving the problems of a bloated curriculum loaded with outdated facts and unexamined assumptions. Teachers needed easy-to-read materials that were simple to use, that would motivate their students, and that would facilitate classroom management.

4. Materials were adapted inappropriately; for example, students memorized the facts of case studies rather than using them as data from which to generalize; simulations were omitted because they took up too much class time or made classrooms too noisy. However, many local users modified the materials in ways that improved them, such as adding a special film or reading or using study exercises that had already proven effective.

5. Except for those who participated in piloting the new materials, few teachers felt any sense of ownership of the innovations. Teachers viewed the developers as living in "ivory towers," far removed from the reality of public school classrooms.

The fact that most of the new materials were of high quality made little difference. Shortly after federal funding ended, the innovations disappeared from the schools.

Question 2: What yardstick will we use to measure the success of future change efforts? How will we judge whether future changes succeed? For example, will we be content with change at the formal level, or must change impact the "taught" curriculum? Will we settle for incremental change (e.g., greater use of electronic databases) or must there be a revolution (e.g., discipline-based courses abolished in favor of nongraded, thematic units)? Must the implementation of something like the California framework be absolute, or can innovations be adapted? Will we have succeeded if, 20 years from now, students have a better grasp of U.S. history, economics, and government but have a lower sense of political efficacy or self-esteem?

Question 3: Can we narrow the gap between social studies educators and the field? Mehlinger (1981) described and Leming (1992) later documented what teachers believe and feel; namely, that academics are out of touch with the reality of the schools and subscribe to basically different values about life and the goals of education. Mehlinger talked about "leaders without followers" and, given Leming's data, we can see why. If teachers are to provide the leadership for future changes in social studies, this difference in outlook and values is of little significance What seems apparent is that unless the gap narrows, calls for change from the universities will generally be ignored by classroom teachers.

Question 4: What will be the results of current efforts to reform schools, and will social studies go along for the ride? One of the principles of change cited earlier states that innovations interact with their environment; for social studies, the most immediate environment is the schools. The list of people calling for a total redesign of schools is long. Des Dixon's rationale for such radical moves is typical:

> The school as an organism routinely accepts cosmetic changes and even a bit of plastic surgery now and then for the sake of appearances. But it hemorrhages away transfusions of fresh blood and rejects transplants for its diseased vital organs. It remains forever alive on life-support systems, even though it is brain dead. If we want to change the school significantly, we must smother it with a critical mass of changes in rapid succession (Des Dixon 1994, p.361).

If the American public were to support the radical redesign of our schools, or a system of universally redeemable vouchers, then social studies would be in for a wild ride, as it increasingly responded to consumer demands. If, on the other hand, schools co-opt and adapt attempts to restructure and redesign them, then the future of change in our field is easier to predict.

The Forces Arrayed Against Change

One way to approach the question of what lies ahead in social studies is to examine the power of the forces being exerted both for and against change. I shall begin with a brief look at the forces on the side of preserving the status quo:

- The lack of agreement in our field.
- The push for standardized results. -
- The nature of educational organizations.
- Tradition, rewards, and vested interests.
- Choices and staff development.

The Lack of Agreement in Our Field. The authors of the Sandia Report felt that one of the greatest challenges facing the education reform movement was "...in forming a consensus on what students should know and be able to do. This has never been accomplished on a national level" (Tanner 1993. p. 293). Add to that the disagreement between social studies educators and social studies teachers, as well as disagreement within the National Council for the Social Studies (Ad Hoc Committee on Scope and Sequence 1989), and this is probably the most powerful single reason we are not likely to see massive changes in social studies in the near future.

The Push for Standardized Results. Efforts to develop national standards are underway in several fields, social studies among them. It is indicative of our field that at least four different groups are developing social studies standards; three in subject areas (i.e., history, civics, and geography) and a fourth in the interdisciplinary area we refer to as social studies. As in the case of multiparty elections, each may weaken the others, with the result that no one wins.

The Nature of Educational Organizations. Pincus (1974) has likened schools to the postal system; both are bureaucracies that enjoy monopolistic positions and neither has much incentive to undergo fundamental change. Schools do, however, need to appear to change, and fads serve that need quite well. The adoption of one fashionable thing after another generates a lot of activity and dispels the notion that schools are falling behind or are out of date. The adoption of fads seldom goes beyond the innovators, who, by definition, need a steady diet of new things to "try out," but fads seldom change the basic organization. By the time we have any reliable data on whether they live up to their claims, they have been replaced by yet newer fads (Slavin 1989).

When real change threatens, schools resist by co-opting the changes. We need only look at the current school restructuring effort to see that process at work. In social studies, many will remember how schools adapted the inquiry materials of the New Social Studies in such a manner that they fit into the accustomed mode of operation (e.g., teachers who used recall test items to see if their students "understood" the structure of a body of knowledge).

Tradition, Rewards, and Vested Interests. Many have much to gain from keeping schools like they are today. The list includes professors in history and social science departments, teacher educators whose experience was in similar schools, companies with money-making textbooks and tests, school administrators who now hold the power, teachers who have learned to cope with the current system (including the autonomy to do pretty much what they want), and so on. Parents too have an interest in preserving tradition, in having schools look something like those they attended. When parents do demand change, they want safer places for their children or programs of interest to their children (Elam, Rose, and Gallup 1993).

Social studies educators are also shaped by tradition, especially as it pertains to rewards. In order to obtain promotion and tenure, faculty members must conduct research and publish the results. Unfortunately, such research often appears to teachers as "looking into problems we don't have in settings unlike ours" (Shaver, Davis and Helburn 1979). A growing interest in research that looks at classroom practice (Brophy 1992; Newmann 1991; Ehman, Glenn, Johnson, and White 1992; Parker 1989) may increase the relevance of research findings, but until that happens, educational research cannot be listed as a force for change.

Choices and Staff Development. Fullan and Stiegelbauer (1991) observed that "The greatest problem faced by school systems is not resistance to innovations but taking on too many changes indiscriminately" (p. 349). Too many choices can be a mixed blessing. Some school systems have developed strategic plans as one way to cope with the endless string of innovations that compete for their attention; even then, deciding what fits into the overall plan takes precious staff time. For example, within the next year, schools will receive several pounds of social studies standards, and elementary teachers will be faced with standards in five or six other subject areas (e.g., math, science, language arts, reading, art, and physical education). It is doubtful that the system can absorb that amount of "help."

The problem of selecting and implementing innovations is complicated further by the small investments schools are typically able to make in staff development, especially in such subject areas as social studies, where recent budget reductions have eliminated many leadership positions at the state and district levels. All this takes place at the very time that innovations are becoming more complex, especially those involving technology (Schmidt 1994); successful implementation therefore requires more rather than less staff development.

Forces on the Side of Change

With the array of forces just described, how can we expect any meaningful change in the schools or in social studies? Fortunately, another set of forces is arrayed on the side of change:

- Change is a fact of life.
- The political need to "do something about education."
- Calls for more moral education.
- The short shelf life of knowledge.
- The ability of technology to bring about change.

Change Is a Fact of Life. In reality, change is always with us, though its direction may not be to our liking. Much of this change is unplanned, a result of the natural cycle of events (e.g., books wear out, maps become out-dated, people retire). Schools also feel pressure from developments in the larger society (e.g., the increasing number of single-parent families, the need to compete in a global market, the increasing use of technology in the workplace, the need for former defense-related corporations to find new profit centers, such as offering alternatives to the public schools). What concerns the public eventually concerns, and changes, the schools, so that even without overt attempts to bring about change, preserving the status quo is not really an option.

The Political Need to "Do Something About" or "Fix" Public Education. Even though the public thinks its local schools are doing a good job (Elam, Rose and Gallup 1993), there is a general dissatisfaction with schools, some of it politically motivated (Tanner 1993;

Bracey 1993). Politicians feel pressure from parents to do something about the rising tide of violence in the schools, and from the business community to improve the quality of the emerging work force. But politicians are not patient people; they want to "fix" the education problem and get on to the next issue. The simple, legislative solution has considerable appeal in such situations, which is one reason national, world-class standards are currently getting so much attention.

National standards have the potential to change what is taught in social studies, especially if federal and state funds begin to be allocated on the basis of how well schools meet those standards, but several problems must be solved before that will happen. The matter of achieving consensus on what should be taught (and thus assessed) has already been mentioned. Since standardized tests will probably be used to measure achievement, the problem of cultural bias and the tendency for standardized tests to focus on low-level knowledge will have to be resolved. Despite these deficiencies, the general public endorses the use of standardized tests, especially for the purpose of identifying areas where students need help and where teachers need to improve (Elam, Rose, and Gallup 1993).

Meanwhile, many educators are calling for assessments that are more authentic. Social studies lends itself to such assessment: writing editorials or letters to congressional representatives, drawing maps, organizing to support a local cause, developing plans for a school recycling program, engaging in community service projects (Nickell 1992). It remains to be seen whether such an approach to assessment can overcome its labor-intensive nature and often vague criteria (e.g. the project will be judged on the basis of its relevance and creativity). Authentic assessment must also overcome the perception that it is "soft" and non-academic. Finally, the problem of standardization looms, as politicians and the public call for assessments that permit comparisons of achievement across schools, districts, states, and nations.

Calls for More Moral Education. The direct, explicit teaching of specific values is a problem for the public schools because the question immediately arises—whose values? Even so, the popular press carries an increasing number of articles calling for the teaching of morality. Value clarification and situationally specific ethics no longer satisfy a growing number of parents. Under a school choice plan, schools could offer different value positions as well as different approaches to teaching and learning. Without that choice, pressure will mount for the schools to do something about the moral values of young people; since social studies claims to have the development of good citizens as one of its primary objectives, social studies will have to change.

The Short Shelf Life of Knowledge. The curriculum is like a fence; it needs constant repair if it is to continue to function. What "breaks" in the curriculum is truth. What we teach as truth changes, either through new discoveries or because of world developments. For example, the work now being done in genetics could change what we teach in sociology, psychology, and anthropology. The break-up of the former Soviet Union made history and government textbooks obsolete overnight. Our ability to manipulate photographs and videotapes complicates the work of future historians and makes the search for truth even more difficult. The old notion that "truth doesn't keep much better than fresh fish" has never been more true, and the curriculum must scramble to keep up.

The Ability of Technology to Bring About Change. The pressure for change exerted by technology comes more from outside the schools than from within. We are beset on every side by rapidly changing technology: electronic information highways, multimedia work stations, digitized images, cellular phones, and palm-sized camcorders. Schools cannot avoid being part of the technology revolution, even if they want to. Parents and the business community will both pressure schools to at least stay within striking distance of technology used in the larger society.

Conclusions: Some Predictions

After taking into account what we know about the change process and the forces currently pushing both for and against change, we ought to be able to hazard some predictions about the future of change in social studies. I remind you again that predictions are not wishes.

1. The odds are against radical change. Chances are that most of us will still recognize social studies 15 or 20 years from now, not because current programs are perfect, but because changing something as massive as the American educational system is so terribly difficult. In social studies, the general population will not likely decide that children no longer need to learn the history of their country or how its political and economic systems work. That, coupled with the power of those in support structures in higher education, publishing companies, and governmental agencies, will ensure that at least in the high schools we still have a curriculum organized around subjects. Social studies will also continue to have heavy responsibility for socializing students, even if it is for a somewhat romanticized version of reality.

2. Specialized programs and schools (e.g., international schools, programs that promote ethnic pride or vocationally oriented social studies) will increase in large cities as we move part way toward school choice. Where the student population base is large enough to support it, schools will adapt to the calls for choice by developing highly focused programs, or entire schools, where the curriculum is built around special themes. That change will allow the most vocal and concerned parents some degree of choice, while avoiding the equity and constitutional problems inherent in school choice plans.

3. As specialized programs increase in number, the direct teaching of values will increase, but only in

places where parents and students have choices. The search will continue for agreement on a core set of values that will provide the social glue in an increasingly fragmented society. Meanwhile, parents will support the direct teaching of values *if* they get to choose those values, just as they currently do in private schools. This will be in contrast to the implicit teaching of values that currently goes on in most social studies classes.

General-purpose schools will still search for the safe middle ground and continue to shy away from the direct teaching of all but the most abstract values (e.g., freedom, justice, equality, patriotism). Advances in information technology, while they will impact social studies in other ways, do not address the skills needed to resolve moral and ethical issues. Such technology will also not rescue teachers from the dilemma of being charged with socializing students while "not teaching values."

4. The move toward national standards will founder on the rocks of our disagreement over goals. Several powerful forces will prevail in the debate over national standards. Opposition to a national curriculum and concerns about the validity of standardized tests both work against any type of mandatory national standards. Ultimately it will be the lack of agreement on basic issues—whether the uniqueness of various groups is more important than a common heritage, what constitutes socially appropriate behavior, what we mean by "good" citizenship, or how "clean" to keep the disciplines—that will prevent the effective use of national standards in social studies. What is not lost by lack of agreement will be lost as schools are buried under an avalanche of standards endorsed by different groups. In the elementary schools, the problem will be compounded as individual teachers try to cope with new standards in most of the subjects they teach each day.

5. Technology will increasingly make a difference in how we teach social studies, but electronic texts will still be a dream in all but a few schools. As an innovation, technology has the look of an eventual winner: it can be accommodated within the existing organizational structure; it meets the needs of schools to be modern and reflect the needs of the American workplace; and complexity, normally a negative characteristic in the adoption process, seems actually to add to the allure of technology. Perhaps most importantly, technology can be made to serve the needs of social studies teachers. Laser disks, multimedia programs, and eventually electronic textbooks will bring history to life in a visual format familiar to students. Electronic databases will facilitate the search for patterns of behavior—the life-blood of the social sciences—and will make it easier for students to navigate the overwhelming storehouse of historical information. Unsophisticated simulations will ride the coattails of developments in the virtual reality field, becoming increasingly complex, realistic, and interesting. Electronic networks will link students, making cross-cultural comparisons simple and quick. Because of their high development cost and the lack of a mass market, electronic textbooks will at first be adopted only in a limited number of lighthouse schools; eventually they will become common in most schools.

These broader changes will come gradually because technology is still difficult to use. When viewed like other innovations, technology must become relatively less expensive and significantly more user friendly and reliable before it will make a difference in how social studies is taught. Once computers and related technology become as easy to use as the telephone, adoption will increase rapidly, aided by a new generation of teachers who have grown up in electronic environments. The fact that technology will probably continue to fall well short of the rosy predictions made by its champions should not lead us to underestimate its eventual impact, for as Dede reminds us, "The two most common errors in technology assessment are overestimating the speed of diffusion of an innovation and underestimating its eventual consequences and side-effects" (Dede 1988).

6. Our field will become more applied and thematic as community service and apprentice programs grow in number. Two innovations, thematic curriculum and community service, will increase in appeal as special programs and theme schools (e.g., international or global schools) develop, again in response to pressure for more choices within the public school system. The thematic curriculum will gain academic respectability as the lines between academic departments in colleges and universities gradually become less distinct. The innovation also fits well with the interdisciplinary ideology of the social studies model as well as with reality: how does one study the changing American family solely from an economic, sociological, or historical perspective? Finally, publishers will assist the diffusion of this innovation by developing electronic support materials of an interdisciplinary nature.

Community service will meld with intern programs as schools respond to calls for greater relevancy. Community service fits nicely with the notion of citizenship, still the most popular justification for teaching social studies. Intern programs, while costly to operate, will get a boost from the increasing popularity of school programs linked more closely to the needs of business and industry.

To me, these six predictions seem reason for neither despair nor euphoria. Those who want a revolution in the education system will feel I am too cautious and pessimistic. I think they underestimate the complexity and magnitude of radically altering the present system. The educational enterprise in this country is a huge, fragmented bureaucracy that has an amazing capacity to adapt to external pressures for change. So long as dissatisfied segments of the public can be appeased with various alternatives, both within and outside the public school system, they will not abandon locally controlled public education, and schools will generally be able to maintain their monopoly position. As long as that is true, educational change will continue to be evolutionary rather than revolutionary.

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